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ABSTRACT

This is an investigation of globalization and its effects upon seven community colleges in Canada and the U.S. As a study of organizational change, the investigation addresses the alteration of processes and structures over the 1990s, brought about in part by globalization and institutional responses to globalization. This report has 11 chapters, a reference section, and an extensive set of appendices. Chapter 1 is an introduction. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical and conceptual foundations of the study. Chapter 3 sets out the research methods employed in the investigation. Chapter 4 provides a statistical context for the institutions, emphasizing demographic characteristics of their respective regions, provinces, states, and countries. Chapter 5 offers the case histories, presenting data from both site investigations and observations based upon empirical study. Chapter 6 discusses the findings of the investigation that pertain to the alteration of missions and structures of seven institutions. Chapter 7 is an examination of the impact of globalization and global forces upon the institutions. Chapter 8 addresses the topic of management of the colleges, largely from the perspective of organizational adaptation. Chapter 9 explores and identifies the purposes of government policy for community colleges, both from a federal level and from the provincial and state levels. Chapter 10 and 11 address the principal research questions, detail implications of the study, and suggest avenues of action for practitioners. Appendices, representing almost a third of the document, list: (1) demographic tables of the noted jurisdictions and college regions; (2) government policy documents, organized by jurisdiction; (3) research documents used in the study; (4) a list of the members of the research team; (5) the current project outcomes published, presented, or in work; and (6) the final recommendations of the study. (Contains 137 references.) (VWC)

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The Community College in a Global Context

John S. Levin

in collaboration with John D. Dennison

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Mission and Structure: The Community College in a Global Context

A Report on a Research Investigation
Sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Council

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Principally, this section is to acknowledge the participation in this study of administrators, faculty, support staff, students and governing board members at the seven institutions, including those in district or central offices. The requirements for institutions to participate in a study of this magnitude are onerous for those who agreed to be interviewed and especially upon those who assisted in organizing the site visits and those who responded to requests for institutional data.

I spent hundreds of hours face-to-face and on electronic mail interacting and communicating with hundreds of institutional participants. I am grateful for their time and their unedited and frank views. I am also grateful to their institutions for accommodating not only me but also my research team during their time on campuses. An investigation of this nature cannot yield valid data without open access for researchers and, without exception, all colleges provided this access and endeavored to fulfill my requests for data.

Above all, these colleges are human organizations, comprised of individuals who take their work, their instruction, and their roles seriously. Although this investigation, as an academic activity, is a critical analysis, its intent is not to undermine the exceptional achievements of individuals or institutions. If there is one hope that I hold for these individuals and institutions that might emanate from this study, it is that these individuals will accommodate each other more, appreciate each other's contributions, and above all listen with care to each other's views in trying to understand the other's positions and point of view.

I want to thank Dr. John D. Dennison who filled an important role, giving his time to help with the bureaucratic machinery that supported this research project. I also thank John for his insights and advice, and most of all for clearing a path so that others could follow.

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Highlights of the report

As what follows is a lengthy report, this section highlights those aspects of the study of particular importance to practitioners and refers readers to specific sections of the report for applicable discussion.

In brief, this is an investigation of globalization and its effects upon seven community colleges in Canada and the U. S. As a study of organizational change, the investigation addresses the alteration of processes and structures over the 1990s, brought about in part at least by globalization and institutional responses to globalization.

Highlights

- This investigation provides an extensive examination of the manifestations of globalization at individual institutions, the approaches used for adaptation to the environment, institutional strategies employed to deal with globalization, and the changes to missions and structures at all seven institutions (see Chapter 5).
- The report details institutional alterations to both work and education. Work has altered and continues to alter, aligned with the ideology of global competitiveness and corporatism. Work norms emphasize productivity and efficiency, evidenced by the increase of speed in tasks and in increasing workloads. These increases are made possible by the deployment of electronic technologies and computer-based production processes. Furthermore, work is constantly re-structured through job reduction and job creation in targeted areas to increase productivity. Education has altered both in programming--that is, curriculum offerings--and in curriculum itself. Programs are added to serve the needs of the job market and not only to match government policy but also to gain government approval. With this approval, resources follow. Students are increasingly viewed and treated as customers, or consumers, engaging in training and education as private citizens with vocational needs. Curriculum moves towards skill training, justified by the need for students to acquire competencies, competencies which are valued in the marketplace and workplace.
- The role of managers in these institutions can be characterized as primarily a responder to forces acting upon the institution, largely absent a planful deliberateness or the motivation to position the institution vis à vis its external environment. This may be a consequence of the community college's responsiveness to its external environment--its local community--and its connections to the state--to state and provincial governments, specifically.
- Government policies clearly endeavor to direct community colleges toward economic goals, emphasizing workforce training and state economic competitiveness as outcomes, compelling colleges to improve efficiencies and to become accountable to government and responsive to business and industry. In all cases, government is interventionary, endeavoring to influence community colleges directly in programs, management and resources and indirectly in goals and purposes.
- The achievements of community colleges in the three decades previous to the 1990s were not abandoned in the 1990s. The first decade of the 21st century may become a watershed period where the road taken in the past is altered to such an extent that a new form of organization emerges. In the 1990s, community colleges became more sophisticated, more business-like, and more efficient institutions. They were taken more seriously by business, industry, and government as

important components of economic development. They played a more prominent role in U.S. government federal policy, particularly for the Clinton administration than previously. For Canada, in both Alberta and British Columbia, colleges were given a central education and training role in government planning for economic renewal.

- Global forces of change have contributed to the actions of these institutions, and the colleges have furthered the globalization process in their actions. The global context for the community college is not that of an institution that provides international education or one that interacts with institutions or agencies in other countries. Rather, the global context has become internalized, both reflected in and reproduced by the ideology of economic efficiency, productivity, and the commodification of education and training. Cultural and social aspects of globalization such as multiculturalism and global concerns such as human rights and ecological preservation, while certainly evident at these institutions, may become more significant in the coming decades if economic interests do not dominate institutional actions.

The study's extensive conclusions are contained within Chapters 10 and 11. Specific recommendations are contained in Appendix F.

Mission and Structure: The Community College in a Global Context

Overture: Globalizing Higher Education

There is little doubt that globalization--cultural, economic, and political--is altering our universities and colleges. These alterations, their sources and their affects, are complex and need to be understood. And, to be understood clearly, alterations arising from globalization need to be examined without rash judgements, requiring an independent vantage point for judging the consequences as well as the ethics of globalization. We need to identify both globalizing forces and the affects of these forces--their influences and consequences--upon higher education institutions. And, we need to understand how and to some extent why our colleges and universities respond as they do to globalization.

In my research investigation of community colleges, I determined that globalizing forces and the globalization process have impacted community colleges in several domains (Levin, 1998b). One prevalent domain is the economic domain, where a global economy affects government revenues which in turn affect colleges through government funding alterations and policy initiatives. A second domain is cultural, where local populations reflect international cultures and are a consequence of international events, such as wars and political re-alignments. Electronic technology signals a third domain--information, including acquisition, dissemination, and the structuring and management of both acquisition and dissemination. Moreover, the structural and legislative presence and predominant role of government in the behaviors and actions of colleges are related to both the nature and severity of influence of global forces upon colleges. On the one hand, government policy and actions detach colleges from direct impact of globalization; on the other hand, government behaviors place colleges in the vortex of global forces.

Both missions and structures of colleges alter as a consequence of globalization. Colleges are coerced by government policies and funding behaviors to become more efficient, less reliant upon government funds, and more responsive to public tastes and marketplace requirements. Global competitiveness stimulates governments to spend less on socially valued activities and more on economic activities. It requires competitors to strive for less expensive labour and higher productivity. Global competitiveness also means the training of workers to fit the international marketplace, and emphasizing service sector jobs as well as jobs with business or computer related tasks. The economic effects of globalization are well-argued in non-higher education literature (see Bridges, 1994; Reich, 1992; Rifkin, 1995; Tapscott, 1996). In higher education, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) offer a compelling argument about the changing nature of the academic enterprise in four countries as a consequence of economic globalization, and Aronowitz and DiFazio (1994) predict massive occupational change in the U. S.: de-professionalization in the professoriate.

In the cultural domain, colleges are influenced by new immigrant populations and by local demographics to move both curricula and institutional activities to a more multicultural, and thus international, focus. While recruitment of international students is economically rationalized, the connection of Canadian and U.S. colleges to other nations' institutions as well as the presence of other nations' students on Canadian and U.S. campuses provide avenues for cultural understanding and sensitize educators to global issues and perspectives. Large programs in English as a Second Language, which are not solely reading, writing and speaking activities but include cultural studies as well, professional development activities for faculty in other countries, student work placements abroad, and institutional agreements with international governments and institutions suggest cultural interactions and expanding cultural awareness for college employees and students.

The information domain is structured around electronic technologies, and suggests that the speed and the quantity of information exchange have increased in the past decade. This means as well that work has increased, and not only the quantity of work but also the nature of work. College managers' workloads have expanded, with weekends used to "catch-up"; faculty devote more time to electronic mail in communicating to students and colleagues and have added to their instructional duties by accessing the Web and posting course materials on the Web. Support staff, who are reportedly fewer in number relative to institutional size over a ten-year period, have increased expectations placed upon them for their work, including the movement of and response to information at greater speeds. In order to keep pace with the external environment, from other institutions in the same jurisdiction to government requests for information and to global behaviors, particularly the increasing speed of information transmission, colleges respond by demanding more of their employees in information processing and communication.

Thus, it should not be surprising that community colleges are adopting a more global perspective and are more obviously participants in, even recipients of, the globalization process. Both missions and structures of these institutions have altered in the past decade as colleges are affected by globalization. Work has altered at these institutions, and instruction and student learning are undergoing changes, with more dramatic alterations suggested for the future.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This is a study of organizational change in the community college during the decade of the 1990s. This investigation gives specific attention to both concepts and theories of globalization in order to ascertain institutional affects of the globalization process and to characterize the community college within a global context. Primarily, the investigation identifies changes to missions and structures of community colleges. The focus of the investigation is a comparative analysis of influences of globalization trends on community colleges in Canada and the United States to determine actual outcomes of globalization. There are several purposes of this study, including the extent to which community colleges are meeting needs of society in education and training and the extent to which the missions of the community colleges have changed as the institutions become more focused on a global context and as well undergo globalizing processes.

Specifically, the study examines what effects globalization has had on community colleges in several areas. Changes in organizational processes and structures over the decade of the 1990s, with specific attention to a five year period within the decade, include altering curriculum and programs, for example the creation of organizational units and the demise of others, and the introduction of new educational requirements and the deletion of others. The investigation examines changes in Canada and United States government postsecondary policies to ascertain how the policies are interpreted and enacted by community colleges. In general, this is an exploration of community colleges' organizational processes and structures indicating that globalization is stimulating new missions for the institutions, moving them away from local community needs toward national and international agendas.

This study acknowledges the historical development of the community college both in Canada and the U.S., and it builds upon the higher education scholarship that has helped to form the identity and illuminate the salient characteristics of this institution. While the investigation uses past research and scholarship as a foundation, there is a clear departure here from both traditional views of community colleges and the mainstream literature on the community college. There are several major characteristics of this research which separate it from previous scholarly approaches. First, this is an empirical investigation, relying upon field methods research that has yielded large quantities of data. Second, this investigation addresses institutions in two nations--Canada and the U.S. Third, the research relies heavily upon theory, and specifically upon globalization theory which has not been employed previously in a empirically-based research study in higher education. And, finally, this study arrives at conclusions that are pertinent to both theory and practice. The study has implications for practitioners and policymakers, assisting in an increased understanding regarding current practices and the effects of globalization on community colleges, such as the effects of government policy on community colleges and the extent to which institutional responses to globalization are altering institutional missions and structures.

The community college and globalization

Recent emphasis on skill development and education of the workforce in both Canada and the U.S. has meant that community colleges have received considerable attention and acquired unprecedented prominence in meeting the expectations of many sectors, including business, industry, and government. National and local responses by community colleges to the global economy and increasing globalization are of interest because they indicate the progress of policies, incentives, and persuasion in altering traditional workforce patterns and in adapting local and national economies so that both are compatible with the global economy. Additionally, institutional responses signal alterations to community colleges themselves, both in their missions, goals, and organization, including their labor force.

Long viewed and conceived of as a social and educational institution that responds to its local community, offering open-access to postsecondary education and providing comprehensive education and training programs to meet the needs of individual students (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Dennison & Gallagher, 1986; Dennison & Levin, 1989; Roueche, Taber, & Roueche, 1995), the community college has neither history nor image as an institution in a global context. Yet, in the last decade, with the rise in public and government emphasis and attention upon a global economy, the community college has become not only a more prominent regional and national institution but also an institution that is affected by macro-level changes in the external environment. These changes include changing government policies to reflect both societal and economic concerns, private sector demands for an increase in workbased training, business and industry specifications for skill acquisition, and the drive for efficiency and greater productivity for the public sector. Thus, colleges respond by situating themselves closer to the marketplace to meet the needs of resource providers. They have also embraced electronic technologies for rapid information processing and training both to compete with other institutions and to meet the needs of external constituents as well as students who depend upon the college for their future employment. Like other higher education institutions, community colleges are affected by global forces and respond both to these forces and to the responses of others, including governments.

In my research on higher education institutions, I find that global forces, such as international economies, international political struggles and their consequences, and global communication systems, do affect these institutions (Levin, 1998a). But influence of global forces is far more complex and multi-dimensional than suggested in previous scholarship. For example, while one college will withdraw from recruitment of international students in the face of severe declines in Asian economies, another college will shift its emphasis from an Asian market to a South American or European market, increasing its overall efforts to recruit international students. Another aspect of globalization rarely addressed in previous scholarship is the role and use of electronic technology in organizational communications. This domain complicates our conceptions of globalization to the extent that technologies such as email, fax, internet, voice mail and the like are both products of and contributors to globalization (see Tapscott, 1996). For example, to keep pace with the flow of information and communication, institutions invest in information technologies. By using these technologies, institutions increase the speed of communications and add more information, necessitating ever more powerful and numerous technologies. Globalization as we experience it today would not be possible without these information and communication technologies. Indeed, to ignore the pervasive use and impact of technology in the workplace in education is to miss a critical dimension of globalization: compression of time and integration of space (Robertson, 1992).

The study

This study began in the late Spring of 1996 and concluded in the Fall of 1999. It addresses changes in organizational structures, processes, and behaviors in the decade of the 1990s. In order to provide an in-depth examination of institutional change, a small group of institutions was studied. So that the study would address the concept of globalization and the impact of globalization on these institutions, I deliberately focused upon a specific geographical area, the Pacific/Western Region, where both history and culture are embedded with international behaviors, including trade and immigration. In addition to an investigation of seven community colleges, I studied the history of the communities and regions of these institutions. I examined and analyzed demographic data from regions, provinces, states, and nations, and I reviewed and analyzed provincial, state, and federal policy documents.

With a research team, I conducted hundreds of interviews, and alone I observed meetings and directed numerous informal conversations at the institutions during two separate time periods. I also communicated with dozens of faculty and administrators by electronic mail. Additionally, both I and a research team, separately, analyzed institutional documents, from collective agreements to class schedules. Finally, research team members and I discussed our observations from site visits for hours, both during and after these visits.

Outline

This report has eleven chapters, a reference section, and an extensive set of appendices. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical and conceptual foundations of the study. Chapter 3 sets out the research methods employed in the investigation. Chapter 4 provides a statistical context for the institutions, emphasizing demographic characteristics of their respective regions, provinces, states, and countries. Chapter 5 offers the case histories, presenting data from both site investigations and observations based upon empirical study. Chapter 6 discusses the findings of the investigation that pertain to the alteration of missions and structures of the seven institutions. Chapter 7 is an examination of the impact of globalization and global forces upon the institutions. Chapter 8 addresses the topic of management of the colleges, largely from the perspective of organizational adaptation. Chapter 9 explores and identifies the purposes of government policy for community colleges, both from a federal level and from the provincial and state levels. Chapter 10 and 11, the final chapters, address the principal research questions, detail implications of the study, and suggest avenues of action for practitioners.

- Chapter 2: Theoretical frameworks

Theoretical and analytical frameworks

Two theoretical domains guide this research study: globalization theory and organization theory. Globalization theory is used both as a theoretical framework for this research as well as an analytical framework for data analysis. Globalization theory is used as an analytical tool for categorizing those institutional behaviors that have contributed to or defined organizational change. Organization theory provides several analytical frameworks for examining the ways in which organizations change, specifically changes in formal structure, organizational culture, goals, programs, or missions in institutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Levy & Merry, 1986; Mintzberg, 1983) Most prominent as an analytical framework are theories of organizational adaptation (Cameron, 1984).

Globalization as a concept

Globalization is a multi-dimensional term. It suggests a condition: the world as a single place (Robertson, 1992). It is viewed as a process: a linking of localities, separated by great distances and intensifying relations between these localities (Giddens, 1990). Globalization is also implicitly connected to international economies, as in the concept of a world economy; to international relations or politics, as in the concept of global politics; and to culture, as in the concept of global culture (Featherstone, 1990; Waters, 1996). Furthermore, the term "global" is used as an adjective, modifier, for both singular and plural nouns, suggesting that there are multiple economies, political systems, and cultures, globally, as well as a single, integrative economy, political system, and culture. Globalization is also used synonymously with internationalization, although this use according to many scholars is an erroneous one, or at least problematic because of its association with the nation-state (Robertson, 1992). Globalization is a concept that pertains to a process and condition that transcend nations. Internationalization is therefore an inappropriate synonym.

Globalization: Theory

While there is a wide array of definitions and conceptions of globalization, there is near consensus upon its impact on organizations. First, global forces drive production processes (Appadurai, 1990). This is a reflexive condition: transformations in production affect national economies and politics, as well as cultures (Appadurai, 1990; Carnoy et al., 1993). Global competition adds pressures to organizations in increasing profit margins or in decreasing expenditures, or both; or alternately in non-profit organizations in increasing efficiencies (Aronowitz & Di Fazio, 1994). Second, global competition spurs technological innovation, particularly increasing computerization in the workplace (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994; Bridges, 1994; Rifkin, 1995). Technological innovation leads to the subordination and displacement of workers, i.e., cuts in labor costs (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994). These innovations and reductions lead not only to redesign and reorganization of the workplace (Bridges, 1994; Castells, 1993), but also to changes in the nature of work (Bridges, 1994). Work changes, as well as production alteration, are oriented toward speed, to keep up with market changes, to respond to communications, and to satisfy customers. The rate of production increases, the workload of employees increases, and the control of management over production increases (Rifkin, 1995). The prime determinant of these alterations according to scholars is technological advances.

And third, technological innovations and applications lead to more innovations and applications. "Globalization is both chicken and egg. It is driven by and driving the new technology that enables global action." (Tapscott, 1996). Technology is both a stimulator of globalization (Lipsey, 1991) and a product of globalization (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994). Although the drive for profits and efficiencies makes the use of new technologies imperative, it is the new technologies themselves which transform the workplace and the organization (Castells, 1993).

Organizational structures change in order to accommodate labor saving technologies; labor is replaced by machines (Rifkin, 1995). Therefore, new ways to manage production are inevitable: for example, network structures replace pyramids as ways to coordinate work, and both the speed of production and managerial control are increased as workers become more self-managing, more compliant with managerial imperatives (Vallas, 1993).

For institutions of higher education, globalization processes both accompany technological changes, assisting in the transformation of academic work (Aronowitz & Di Fazio, 1994), and situate institutions closer to the marketplace (Levin, forthcoming; Leslie & Slaughter, 1997), especially in fields connected to techno-science (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). At the level of universities in both the U. S. and Canada, globalization can be equated with corporatism, with the marketplace playing a more pronounced role than in the past (Leslie & Slaughter, 1997; Newson, 1994; Slaughter, 1997). Furthermore, education is vocationalized, and training is driven by the demands of business and industry (Currie, 1998). "Training" and "education" are treated as synonymous concepts, much like the interchangeability of "knowledge" and "skills".

In addition to its economic role, globalization also connects cultures and groups, integrating people and their differences, sometimes resulting in harmony, sometimes in a "complex, overlapping, disjunctive order" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 296). The integration argument suggests that cultural differences are subsumed in a homogenous, overarching structure (Waters, 1996), where Western, particularly American, values are the dominant ones. This phenomenon is also referred to as "McDonaldization" (Ritzer, 1998), a condition when applied to higher education views education as a commodity, readily available to all consumers, local and global. The Westernization or Americanization theme, however, may be a temporal phase of globalization, and the processes of contracting geography and connecting people socially, culturally, and economically may be the more enduring characteristics of globalization (Waters, 1996). The point may pertain more to the homogenization of cultural attributes, such as ideas, language, and values and other related behaviors found in such areas as fashion and the media.

It may be that consciousness of a global society, culture and economy and global interdependence are the cornerstones of globalization (Robertson, 1992), and these--consciousness and interdependency--have saliency in knowledge-based enterprises. Institutional theory suggests that there are organizational fields, such as higher education institutions or hospitals, for example, where patterns of institutional behaviors become similar across institutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Thus, there is a certain inevitability that higher education institutions, because of their cultural, social and economic roles, are caught up in and affected by globalization.

The process of globalization has been connected to numerous alterations in higher education. For example, with emphasis upon international competitiveness, economic globalization is viewed as moving postsecondary institutions into a business-like orientation, with its attendant behaviors of efficiency and productivity. The placement of higher education institutions in closer proximity to the marketplace, through corporate partnerships and associations, is an obvious manifestation of economic globalization.

Globalization literature either implicitly or explicitly suggests a number of institutional behaviors that are influenced by globalizing processes (Appadurai, 1990; Bridges, 1994; Castells, 1993; Rifkin, 1995; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). These processes include not only economic globalization, but also cultural and social (Waters, 1996).

From this literature, I have selected a number of categories that suggest change or actions that pertain to globalization. These include :

A. Internationalization (students, curriculum, delivery)
B. Public sector funding constraints
C. Private sector interaction
D. Electronic technology--real time communications
E. Productivity and efficiency
F. External competition
G. Restructuring
H. Labor alterations (e.g., additional work)
I. State intervention
J. Partnerships and associations
K. Workforce training
L. Marketplace orientation
M. Homogenization of services and products
N. Commodification of products

The above list of categories while not exhaustive and largely suggestive of economic globalization are common to both globalization literature and recent higher education literature that contains global themes (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Internationalization and electronic technology, as well as homogenization of services and products, as categories suggest cultural and social globalization as well as economic.

Organization theory

While no one theory of organizations is likely to explain organizational behaviors completely or satisfactorily, several theories have saliency for institutional change. These include institutional theories (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), organizational change theory (Levy & Merry, 1986), theories of organizational power (Mintzberg, 1983), and theories of organizational adaptation (Cameron, 1984). For example, Cameron (1984) employs a continuum to describe and explain organizational adaptation. This continuum is based upon the level of control over change to an organization, from predominantly external control to predominantly internal control. This framework helps us to understand the role of internal organizational members on organizational action, that is, the extent to which organizational members are responsible for organizational change or adaptation. Sandelands and Drazin (1989) refer to these two conceptions of change as exogenesis and endogenesis, with the former signaling change attributed to forces outside the organization and the latter signaling change attributed to the actions and choices of managers. Cameron's structure is not so limited, including two concepts--life cycles and symbolic action--that are missing in Sandelands and Drazin (1989) as well as in other conceptions which rely upon dichotomies or polarities (e.g., Pfeffer, 1982).

One of the most researched and studied forces of organizational change are those which are structured as organizational adaptations, that is organizational changes which are responses to external conditions. I borrow from Kim Cameron (1984), who found four major explanations of organizational adaptation. I add a fifth concept, accidentalism, which is absent from Cameron's framework, and this concept adds another plausible explanation to organizational change.

Organizational Adaptation

Cameron (1984) found four major explanations of organizational adaptation. I add a fifth concept, accidentalism, which is absent from Cameron's framework, and this concept adds another plausible explanation to organizational change. Cameron (1984) structures organizational adaptation as a variable along a continuum from little organizational control over environmental factors to near absolute control over the environment (see Figure 2.1.). At one end of the continuum, organizations are "chosen" by their environment, and at the other end, organizations define or re-make their environments to fit their needs and goals. The four adaptations are "population ecology", "life cycles", "strategic choice", and "symbolic action".

Population ecology. There is a prominent role of the environment in adaptation; there is little or no role for management action. This is not actual adaptation, but rather selection by the environment. Internal pressures such as fiscal commitments and operational precedents and external pressures such as legal requirements preclude organizational modifications for adjustment to environmental changes (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Thus, organizations adapt because of their developmental "characteristics that are compatible with the environment" (Cameron, 1984, p. 126).

Life Cycles. This is adaptation based upon predictable stages of organizational development, on methods and outcomes of adaptation which depend upon a range of organizational characteristics. Both methods and outcomes of adaptation differ among institutions because "organizational activities and structures in one stage are not the same as the activities and structures present in another stage" (Quinn & Cameron, 1983, p. 40). Four main stages of organizational development are identified by Cameron and Whetten (1981): "entrepreneurial", "collectivity", "formalization and control", and "elaboration of structure". For each stage, there are corresponding actions of organizational members which influence, if not determine, adaptation. In the "entrepreneurial" stage, "marshaling resources, creating an ideology, and forming an ecological niche are emphasized" (Cameron & Whetten, 1981, p. 527). In the "collectivity" stage, there is "commitment and cohesion among members...and an emerging sense of collectivity and mission" (Cameron & Whetten, 1981, p. 527). In the "formalization" stage, "procedures and policies become institutionalized" (Cameron & Whetten, 1981, p. 527). And, in the "elaboration" stage, the "organizational problem is overcoming rigidity and conservatism and expanding to meet new constituency demands" (Cameron, 1984, p. 126). None of these stages suggests a high level of interaction between organizational members and external "stakeholders (Mitroff, 1983) or external "coalitions"(Mintzberg, 1983). The assumptions of life cycles adaptation do not include either extensive give and take between organization and environment or a considerable degree of managerial or other internal "coalition" (Mintzberg 1983) power or influence on organizational actions.

Strategic Choice. Here, adaptation relies upon a prominent managerial role, and decisions about coping or adaptation are based upon the perceptions of organization's dominant coalition, perceptions about the nature and state of the external environment. This dominant coalition is generally judged to be the organization's managerial class, and this group is assumed to have the ability and power to modify the environment or choose strategies that will reduce environmental influence (Miles & Snow, 1978). The assumption is that organizations make choices, manipulate the environment, and predict environmental events (Cameron, 1984). Thus, adaptation maintains or improves organizational performance and legitimacy, allowing organizations to survive even under extreme environmental pressures.

Symbolic Action. Here, adaptation is based upon an interpretation of the environment in the context of the values and meanings of organizational members. That is, there is control of environment through language, rituals, and behaviors which define the external environment so that it is compatible with the beliefs and values of organizational members (Cameron, 1984). Organizational processes offer sense-making devices for organizational members, giving them rationales and emotional support for their actions and aiding in organizational survival and external adaptation (Cameron & Ettington, 1988). Patterns of organizational action over time establish an organization's identity--what organizational members believe to be its central, enduring, and distinctive character" (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991, p. 520). This identity "filters and molds an organization's interpretation of and action on an issue" (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991, p. 520), including the organization's environment and the views and beliefs of others outside the organization. In this way, through symbolic action--action which has meaning beyond its literalness; action associated with historical patterns of meaning--organizational members not only define but also influence environments. Thus by influencing its environment, an organization adapts.

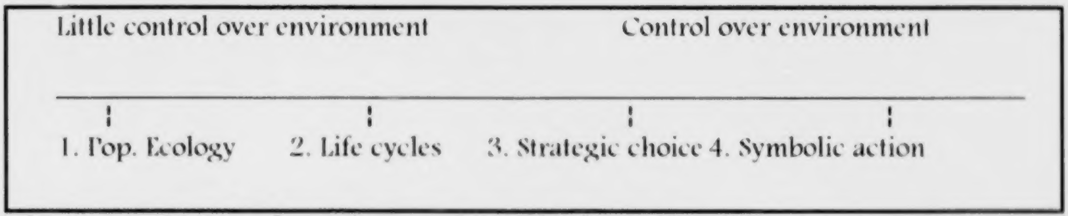

Figure 2.1.: Cameron's continuum of organizational adaptation

Accidentalism. Added to the four approaches to adaptation identified in organizational literature, I contribute a fifth approach, accidentalism. Both the four explanations provided by Cameron (1984) and the other dominant perspectives suggesting that organizational change is due to either exogenesis or endogenesis are limiting to the extent that they are descriptive not explanatory because they address achievements not processes (Sandelands & Drazin, 1989), and, most problematic, they assume the existence of places inside and outside an organization. Furthermore, these explanations assume that the concept of environment has some known and agreed upon meaning.

In accidentalism, the external environment and the organization are a series of random or unconnected events, influences, and accidents. The organizational perspective is nonrational and nonlinear but is paradigmatic and the organization, or its members, are predisposed to act whether that means selecting and/or responding to some parts of the environment or to itself, or both. Historical events, organizational participants themselves at the individual level, and structural arrangements are among

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the influences of actions. A change in government policy could trigger actions which in turn influence other actions. This is similar to Morgan's (1997) explanation of chaos theory as it applies to organizations. Accidentalism implies behaviors that are not rationally derived, not caused by a single event or chain of events, and do not fit into conventional patterns of stimulus/response or action and reaction.

Institutional theory

A second theoretical perspective used in this investigation is institutional theory. Institutional theory offers another perspective for examining organizational behaviors, advancing the view that institutional dynamics are best understood through an institution's relationship to other like institutions. That is, organizational behaviors and structures are part of a larger institutional context, a field of other organizations that includes constraints and influences (Brint & Karabel, 1989; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). In this sense, specific contexts, such as government policy initiatives, help to explain organizational change because change will occur not just on one site but at multiple sites that are part of the same organizational field.

But, more importantly for this investigation, the emphasis of context in institutional theory--historical, political, social--and the behaviors of organizational members in response to that context suggest that the externally perceived and internally enacted identity of an organization figure prominently in what actions organizations take (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Brint & Karabel, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Thus, in this examination of community colleges in two nations and in several states and provinces, the institution, the community college, the country, Canada or the United States, and province or state, whether Alberta, British Columbia, California, Hawaii, or Washington, are contexts for organizational behaviors. Knowledge of these contexts aids in the understanding of organizational behaviors, specifically directing us to the changes occurring in institutions and the influences that give rise to these changes.

Theoretical perspectives on policy

There are three streams of thought on the state that frame my analysis of government policy for community colleges. The first views the state as the nexus of the struggle of classes: that is, the state functions to preserve and expand modes of production (Carnoy, 1984, Skocpol, 1985). State policy drives or influences production. The state "is an expression, or condensation, of social-class relations, and these relations imply domination of one group by another. Hence the State is both a product of relations of domination and their shaper." (Carnoy, 1984, p. 250).

The second view of the state is that it is independent of capital and labor (Carnoy, 1984). The state is an actor, intertwined and perhaps inseparable from postsecondary education (Slaughter, 1990). It is composed of relatively autonomous government officials who serve their own interests as well as those of business and students (Dougherty, 1994).

The third view of the state is that it is a multifaceted resource, where policy formation is played out. Various branches or levels of the state respond to different and even competing constituencies (Slaughter, 1990). That is, the state is not monolithic, and its behaviors are not necessarily consistent or uniform.

Higher education literature

In addition to the use of theory, I rely upon higher education literature, especially that literature with emphasis upon theoretical constructs to elucidate organizational behaviors and community college literature that addresses organizational changes. In particular, I am drawn to the work of Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and their use of globalization theory, as well as their implications concerning the alignment of higher education institutions with resource providers, in line with the theoretical position of Pfeffer and Salancik (1977). Furthermore, I draw upon community college literature in both Canada and the U.S., including the work of Dennison (1995) and Dennison and Gallagher (1986) in Canada which takes an historical perspective of institutional development, and the work of numerous U.S. scholars such as Brint and Karabel (1989); Clowes and Levin (1989); Dougherty (1994); Richardson, Fisk, and Okun (1983), and Roueche and Baker (1987), who have contributed to the conceptualization of community college mission. This literature guides me in my explanation of change to missions and structures of community colleges.

Research Questions to address theories of globalization and organization

Both the theory--globalization and organization--and higher education literature help to frame research questions. To what extent has globalization affected community colleges? Have institutional structures altered in response to external forces? Has the mission of the community college changed while the institution addresses global demands and a global context? How do organizational members and stakeholders interpret the external environment, and do these interpretations affect college mission and structures?

In the 1990s:

1. What changes and what kinds of changes have taken place in all institutions studied?
2. What are the forces that have influenced or contributed to these changes? Internal? External? No identifiable locus?
3. Are community colleges different institutions from the 1980s and previously, and what is an appropriate description in the 1990s?
4. What differences are to be found along major variables:
a. U.S. and Canada? b. Geographical location? c. Size? d. Programmatic (e.g., different curricula)? e. Other?
And, what are the reasons for differences?
5. What role, if any, has Canada/U.S. Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA played in organizational change?
6. What specific and common global forces have affected these institutions?
7. How have institutions responded to these forces and with what outcomes?
Based upon the above, what are the implications and recommendations of this investigation:
8. Do the findings from this investigation suggest predictive patterns: what does this suggest for the first decade of the 21st century?
9. What can institutional stakeholders (e.g., government, managers, business and industry, faculty, governing boards) learn from the results of this research?

- Chapter 3: Research methods

Introduction

This investigation is a comparative analysis of influences of globalization and globalizing trends on community colleges in Canada and the United States, in order to identify and explain outcomes of globalization in these institutions. This study is an examination of external forces acting upon seven institutions during the decade of the 1990s and the responses of institutions, including their organizational adaptation and institutional changes to mission and structures. In the most general terms, the study addresses change within community colleges during the decade of the 1990s. The specific focus, however, is upon external forces that influence or precipitate internal change. Furthermore, globalization, as a concept and a theory, (Robertson, 1992; Waters, 1996) is used as both a proxy of external forces, indeed as the principal force, and as an analytical framework for the investigation.

The Study

A qualitative, multiple case study design is used in this investigation because of several factors which make case study appropriate for the research questions and given the comprehensive scope of the topic (Berg, 1995, Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 1984). The use of field methods--including document analysis, interviews, informal conversations, observations, and the use of informants--is one suggested way to understand organizational life and organizational behaviors (Berg, 1995). Furthermore, investigation of multiple sites or cases is particularly appropriate for the understanding of different institutional contexts (Hardy, 1996). Demands on resources and personnel in extensive examination of sites and limitations of time reasonably limit the sample size--with approximately 1200 U. S. community colleges and 125 Canadian colleges, even to achieve a high level statistical confidence would require more colleges visited than would be feasible. The purpose here is not to achieve statistical generalizations but rather theoretical soundness (Yin, 1984).

In refining the design, I narrowed the focus to a geographical area--the Pacific/Western Region--to capture the concept of international and global economics and trade within what is referred to as the Pacific Rim, identify and follow the development of international cultural connections consistent with this region and to follow along the lines of a earlier investigation on the effects of external forces of change on community colleges in the Western U.S. and Canada (Levin, 1997). Furthermore, I assumed that globalizing forces would be more evident in or near large population centers (i.e., Western cities), especially those with relatively large immigrant populations or those that depend upon international trade. I concluded that I would need to understand not only the colleges but also their communities, however defined. Several sites (i.e., colleges) make up the multiple cases, and the use of more than one site permits comparisons and offers additional possibilities for generalization and even theory construction.

This investigation began in the late Spring of 1996. The investigative strategy was to study multiple sites in depth through interviews and informal conversations with college personnel and students, through the review and analysis of institutional documents, and through observations. In addition, each college was surveyed and asked to provide quantitative information on budgets, students, programs, and graduate employment placements. To complement this multi-case study, the research involved the review and analysis of government documents pertinent to higher education policy, specifically policy that was directed to or might affect community colleges.

Site Selection

The choice of sites followed two basic patterns. The first was along the lines of theoretical or purposeful sampling. The second was associated with site access. Purposeful sampling consists of choosing a sample of a population (in this case, community colleges) which fit characteristics of the study's purpose and which may conform to working hypotheses. Thus, colleges possessing characteristics which suggested connections to globalization and internationalization were chosen as part of the sample pool. Those colleges with reputations for international projects and programs, those colleges which serve diverse populations, those colleges which are reputed to be innovative, especially in their use of electronic technology, those colleges which are in jurisdictions where influential policy bodies promote change along marketplace--both domestic and international--lines, those colleges in geographical areas where there is considerable international activity, in finance, business, industry, and culture, and those colleges where college officials have high profiles in national and international educational forums, or reputations as participants in international education activities, qualified for the sample pool.

Additionally, in order to provide cases which are not identical to each other and which reflect as a whole a variety of other sites, the sample pool was further refined to include different organizational systems (e.g., colleges which are part of a multi-college district, colleges which are part of a larger educational system, colleges which are "stand alone"), different political jurisdictions (i.e., U. S. and Canada on one level; different states and provinces on another), and different size institutions because of the widely held view of organizations that size is related to complexity and that, primarily, differences among organizations can be a factor of size differences. Thus, the sample pool was limited conceptually.

The second is associated with site access. From the sample pool, colleges where there was known opportunity for access because of my familiarity of a college official who might be able to open the gate were the initial choices. Six colleges were initially identified from a larger list. The total list was comprised of 15 colleges, including several institutions within a multi-college district. One of the six was dropped from the list because I became aware of internal upheaval and the impending departure of the college president. Another college was added in its place--a college within the same geographical region--because of the interest and willingness of the college president to participate. Another college was eventually dropped from the list because of a laborious process to achieve college agreement to participate. This college was replaced by a college in a different geographical region, but only after I had exhausted possibilities of replacement with another college in that region. The final choice of replacement in this example was not only based upon access but also upon the conceptual appropriateness of the college's character as an innovative institution which was reputed to be involved in using new educational technologies.

Ultimately, seven colleges were selected with the assumption that at least one college might drop out after the investigation began. In this event, there would be at least six colleges. Four to eight is a reasonable number of sites for multi-case study research (Eisenhardt, 1989). Given the duration of the study, a loss of at least one college is a prudent assumption. Nonetheless, all seven colleges remained as study sites: three U.S. and four Canadian colleges.

Investigative strategy

The investigative strategy was to study multiple sites in depth through interviews and informal conversations with college personnel and students, through the review and analysis of institutional documents, and through observations. A group of researchers undertook site visits--from three to five investigators at one site at the same time. The use of a group approach not only assists in data collection but also in analysis during collection. The multiple viewpoints, the discussion of individual on-site observations, and the confirming and disconfirming of preliminary hunches all contribute to a richer and more accurate understanding of the site (Eisenhardt, 1989).

The study of multiple sites was augmented by the collection and analysis of other related data. These data included state/province legislation, policy, and higher education, labor, and finance reports. Also included were national (U. S. and Canada) federal policies and policy reports. Other government agency documents (local or regional) on the economy, labor markets, or population demographics were collected and reviewed.

In addition to existing public documents, each college was surveyed and asked to provide quantitative information on budgets, students, programs, and graduate employment placements. This survey was intended to provide a comparative guide for the sites as well as a quantitative measure against which qualitative assessments could be compared within sites. That is, when college members refer consistently to budget reductions in 1995, to reduced program enrollments in 1993, and to high job placements for program graduates in vocational fields, the survey data are compared to the perceptions of college members. This not only provides for a validity check but also enhances the investigators' understanding of participant perceptions.

The multi-site investigation is both cross-sectional and longitudinal. The first site visit, lasting between four and five days, was on the one hand an extensive examination involving interviews, conversations, and observations, using the concept of organizational change over a five year period as an analytical tool to gain understanding of the present. Thus, from this exploration, observations, findings and conclusions were derived. On the other hand, a second site visit at each college, from between 12 and 18 months subsequent to the first, permitted a longitudinal analysis, enabling the research to address observable change over time, as well as validity check on initial observations.

Procedures: Interviews and Observation

Colleges which agreed to participate in the study were sent formal documents on the investigation, including an agreement to have their college included in the study, an agreement which was signed by the chief executive officer of the institution, and a copy of an interview consent form used later in on-site interviews. Arrangements were made for site visits, and a team of researchers was established, including U.S. and Canadian members. Of these members, three were university professors and six were doctoral students in university programs. The research team was involved in the first set of site visits, and the principal investigator, with just one other team member, completed the second set of site visits, as planned.

For the first set of site visits, the research team spent from four to five days at each site. During this time, team members conducted individual and group interviews. At each institution, the following college personnel were interviewed: president or chief executive officer, president's assistant or secretary, chief business officer, chief academic officer, chief student services officers, chief human resources/personnel officer, samples of mid-level administrators (deans, directors), samples of full time faculty and part-time faculty, faculty union president, support staff union president, and 1-2 board members (if available, the board chair was interviewed). Additionally, if a college was part of a multi-college district, the district chancellor was interviewed. As well as formally arranged interviews, more informal interviews and conversations were held with administrators, faculty (full time and part time), support staff, and students.

Formal interviews were taped recorded, unless objected to or inappropriate because of location (e.g., one interview was conducted over lunch in a restaurant), and interview notes were recorded by hand. Interview questions were developed and pilot tested prior to site visits. Questions were both specific and open-ended and invited interviewees to elaborate on and explain their responses. Following site investigations, the principal investigator reviewed data collected at each site and subsequently wrote a detailed case study report, combining description with observation and the generation of concepts which would serve as frame for the understanding of behaviors and actions at each site. The case study write-up aids in making sense of the enormous quantity of data collected during multiple case studies (Eisenhardt, 1989). At the stage of interview data analysis, another two research assistants were added to the research team, and their role was to transcribe interview data from tape recordings and interview notes onto a data display sheet organized around the interview questions.

A second set of site visits followed the first set by 12-18 months, all lasting from 2-3 days at each site, with only the principal investigator on site for all site visits, and a collaborator present at a majority of sites. During these site visits, the principal investigator and collaborator interviewed faculty and administrators as well as one or two support staff, using follow-up questions derived from the questions and responses in the first round of interviews. In addition, for those colleges connected to larger systems or multi-college districts, officials of these larger organizations were interviewed. The purpose of the second site visits was to explore a limited number of questions in greater depth and to ascertain the extent of institutional change over a one year period, relative to the changes identified in the previous five years. Questions addressed changes to missions and structures over a one to two year period. Those interviewed included both individuals who were interviewed previously and those not interviewed previously. Interviews were recorded by hand.

Interviews were conducted over a two-year period at seven (7) colleges in the U. S. and Canada, in the states of California, Hawaii, and Washington and the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia. Approximately 60 individuals were involved in interviews, formally or informally, at each college, for a total of approximately 430 people interviewed, with the majority of formal interviews lasting from 50 minutes to 2 hours.

During both site visits, as the principal investigator, I also used a participant observation approach to data collection and analysis (Berg, 1995; Burgess, 1984). I kept a journal that included notes from meetings, interviews, and observations of institutional environments and interactions. Meetings included groups reporting to the president, groups reporting to other senior managers, college employee meetings, and governing board meetings. As well, I made notes on my ongoing analysis of data and the generation of observations and working hypotheses. Subsequent to site visits, I wrote a detailed case study report, combining analyses of observations, documents, and interviews as well as historical and social analysis

The seven colleges in this investigation are given fictitious names, consistent with the agreement with each college president to maintain relative anonymity of institutions. The seven college are named City Center College (CCC); East Shoreline College (ESC); City South Community College (CSCC); Pacific Suburban Community College (PSCC); Rural Valley College (RVC); Suburban Valley Community College (SVCC); and North Mountain College (NMC).

Procedures: Document Collection and Analysis

Document Data Sources. The data sources included federal (Canada and the U.S.) departments, agencies, and commissions, state and provincial government departments and agencies, and individual colleges and college districts.

Data. Document data included institutional documents, government documents, and institutional survey data. Institutional documents were comprised of college catalogues (calendars in Canada), annual reports, collective agreements, policies, institutional reports, program/course schedules, and institutional communications (e.g., memoranda); they also included material such as student newspapers and informational brochures gathered during site visits. Government documents comprised legislation, policies, policy discussion papers, and reports. Institutional surveys provided data on institutional budgets, student enrollments, and student graduation placements.

Data Analysis

In order to determine the ways and the extent to which globalizing forces affected and influenced community colleges, I employed several analytical frameworks to understand organizational behaviors. Principal among these was globalization theory which provided me with a number of categories for analysis. These included the categories of change in organizations and institutions such as increasing speed of production facilitated by the use of electronic technologies, alterations in labor as a consequence of productivity and efficiency of operations, and re-structuring of organization and work in order to increase managerial flexibility and control as well as organizational productivity or efficiency, or both. Particular to the postsecondary educational sector, categories of change included less, or diminished, public sector funding for public institutions, increasing associations with and connections to the private sector, and increasing state intervention into the governance and operations of the institution.

Analytical frameworks were developed from both globalization theory and organizational theory, as well as upon recent applications of globalization to higher education (e.g., Appadurai, 1990; Aronowitz & Di Fazio, 1994; Cameron, 1984; Castells,1993; Di Maggio & Powell, 1983; Levy & Merry, 1986; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). The goal of these frameworks was to identify patterns and themes that help to explain the affects and effects of globalizing forces and how the globalization process affected college behaviors.

Interview data, document data, observational data, institutional questionnaire data, and government document data were analyzed using an analytical framework drawn from globalization literature. Data were coded according to the categories noted in Exhibit 1, drawn from globalization literature (e.g., internationalization, public sector funding constraints, and commodification). Procedures for coding and then drawing conclusions followed the advice of Miles and Huberman (1984).

Category	Abbreviation Code
A. Internationalization (e.g., students, curriculum)	[I]
B. Workforce training	[WT]
C. Electronic Technology--real time communications	[ET]
D. Labor alterations (e.g., additional work)	[LA]
E. Productivity and Efficiency	[P/E]
F. Public Sector funding constraints	[LPS]
G. Restructuring	[R]
H. State intervention	[SI]
I. Private Sector interaction	[PR]
J. Partnerships	[PA]
K. External competition	[C]
L. Homogenization	[HOM]
M. Commodification	[COM]

Exhibit 1: Globalization Categories

Furthermore, national and state and provincial policy document data, which include government document data, underwent a second iteration of coding and thus another analysis process. First, documents were categorized according to their jurisdiction: federal Canada; federal U.S. state; or province. Second, documents were categorized according to their source, and these categories included government; government affiliate; non-government body; non-government organization; institution; and private. And, finally, documents were categorized by type, including legislation; policy: formal policy; policy discussion; policy background; policy draft; review of legislation; review of policy; research; and report. Analysis then proceeded to include coding, using a modified pattern of globalization categories discussed previously, as noted in Exhibit 2: Categories for Government Policy Document Analysis.

Internationalization (students, curriculum, delivery)	[I]
Public Sector funding constraints	[LPS]
Private Sector interaction	[PR]
Electronic Technology--real time communications	[ET]
Productivity and Efficiency	[P/E]
External competition	[C]
Restructuring	[R]
Partnerships	[PA]
Workforce training	[WT]
Marketplace	[MRK]

Exhibit 2: Categories for Government Policy Document Analysis.

After pattern coding, content analysis of the extracted data included counting of coded data by category and the identification and explanation of specific themes. Counting ensured that there was a substantial quantity of data for the established patterns. Thematic analysis led to a clearer understanding of the meaning of the patterns.

Observational data were analyzed both during site visits at each college and following site visits for all colleges. During site visits, I recorded my observations and subsequently began to conceptualize these data working toward hypotheses and theory-building, not unlike the approach recommended by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Observational data were thus treated in two distinct ways. On the one hand, observational data served as evidence of the presence of patterns related to concepts consistent with those drawn from globalization literature and theory. On the other hand, observational data were coded using categories derived from globalization theory, as noted in Exhibit 1, and used in conjunction with other categories of data (e.g., interviews).

In addition to a globalization analytical framework for data analysis, I employed an analytical framework drawn from organization theory. Interview and observational data were also coded according to the categories established by Cameron (1984) to explain organizational adaptation. These theoretical perspectives provide descriptive power with respect to the relative strength of internal organizational influence and external environmental influence over organizational actions. These categories comprise at least four distinct theoretical perspectives on adaptation and are labeled Population Ecology, Life Cycles, Strategic Choice, and Symbolic Action. Furthermore, I added a fifth category to Cameron's framework--Accidentalism--to cover a perspective missing in adaptation literature. This fifth category avoids the internal/external dichotomy implied by the other four categories, and suggests that chance-like events might influence organizational actions.. Data on organizational adaptation are displayed in tables.

Finally, interview and journal data were coded thematically, relying upon patterns identified as those connected to college mission and college structure changes, such as mission alteration that favors higher level programming in instruction and structural changes to institutional decision-making. These themes and patterns are then used to explain alterations to institutional mission and structures. The concept of mission and structures were drawn from higher education literature, specifically community college literature. Data on alterations to mission and structures are displayed in tables.

Validity and Reliability

Validity is generally viewed as the accuracy of data and the reasonableness of findings and conclusions. Reliability is represented as a question of replicability, on the one hand the extent to which the same methods used over again at the same sites would yield the same data and findings and on the other hand whether the findings and conclusions can be generalized or applied to other sites not represented in the study. In qualitative field research, however, these concepts become somewhat problematic. To some extent, the difficulty with applying concepts of validity and reliability, drawn from quantitative research, is that in qualitative field research, the purpose of research is not necessarily to discover factual or objective truths, however defined, and the assumption is certainly not that there is either another identical site or that the same site will be unchanged if investigated again. Furthermore, in field research, the researcher is a principal instrument, and thus to assume that another researcher would gather the same data or arrive at the same findings is to expect researcher duplicability or objectivity, both assumptions that seem to lack an empirical basis.

The above, however, is not meant to suggest that qualitative field research should be idiosyncratic, or what Miles and Huberman (1984) view as "mystification"

(p. 20). Data in qualitative research should be authentic, not manufactured, should be representative of a sample set, whether individuals or groups or sites, and meaningful. Findings and conclusions should be credible and coherent.

In this investigation, a multi-site and broad-based research design was used to gather data. Data collection occurred not only at each site but also for the organizational context of each site, for the legal jurisdictions of all sites, and over time. In using four distinct data sources, including interview data, document data, observational data, and institutional survey data, and in collecting large quantities of data, as well as relying upon stratified data sampling, this investigation adhered to the suggestion of scholars (e.g., Crowson, 1987) who advise multiple strategies for data collection, both comprehensive collection of data and research strategies to capture meaning from sites.

In this investigation, findings are grounded in data and the result of a process of lengthy researcher engagement with sites. Furthermore, theoretical frameworks guide the research and analytical frameworks guide data analysis, indicating that the idiosyncratic and the wholly personal are held in check. A number of techniques to disconfirm evidence and observations were applied, including member checking (Miles & Huberman, 1984), as were strategies to collect and analyze data almost simultaneously (Burgess, 1985), especially during interviewing. Additionally, the advice of Eisenhardt (1989) was followed in using multiple researchers, including multiple data collectors and data analyzers. These strategies helped to ensure credible findings.

Coherency relied upon the connections between data, findings and conclusions. Here, theoretical and analytical frameworks, particularly globalization theory and organization theory, served as security guides. Data were analyzed using consistent frameworks; findings were derived from the use of three analytical frameworks (i.e., globalization theory, organization adaptation theory, and higher education literature). Conclusions were achieved by relating findings to initial research questions and to questions that arose during investigation. That is, conclusions addressed not only changes that occurred during the study period but also predictions or speculations about community colleges in the coming decades. The thread of understanding moved thus from the past to the present to the future.

- Chapter 4: Organizational environments: Institution, community, region, state/province, nation

This investigation examines the alterations to college processes and structures during the 1990s. In addressing these alterations, the investigation is concerned with influences and factors that give rise to change. This is not to suggest, however, that there is a transparent line of cause and effect. Although the major theoretical framework and analytical tool of this investigation is globalization, there is no assumption here that globalizing forces, such as international economies, are directly causing behaviors within institutions. Rather, there may be globalizing forces, for example, that are influential in decisions of government funding behaviors and these behaviors have a bearing upon institutional decisions about program offerings. Furthermore, other immediate forces besides globalizing forces, such as employment opportunities in a particular community and changing kinds and numbers of local college populations, have a bearing upon institutional behaviors, including program offerings. Finally, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, institutional members in responding to demands and their perceptions of actions outside of their institutions are influencers and decision-makers in college actions. Thus, organizational change is a complex phenomenon, involving numerous actors and influences.

The seven colleges of this investigation are located in three states, two provinces and two countries. City Center College, East Shoreline College, and Rural Valley College are situated in British Columbia, Canada. North Mountain College is situated in Alberta, Canada. Suburban Valley Community College is situated in California, United States. Pacific Suburban Community College is situated in Hawaii, United States. And, City South Community College is situated in Washington, United States. Each institution has its own demographic characteristics and measurable behaviors over time, specifically changes in enrollments, program participation, former student employment patterns, revenues, and government support over the investigative period. Table 4.1. displays selected financial and student enrollment institutional characteristics in 1995/96, illustrative of college differences.

Each college region, each college jurisdiction, state or province, and each college's nation have demographic characteristics and measurable behaviors over time as well. These include general population, immigration, incomes, unemployment rates, employment in particular occupations and, in the case of the U.S. and the three states, ethnic population changes over the investigative period. Appendix A contains a full set of tables that reflect these demographic characteristics and measurable behaviors. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 constitute reductions of these data and are presented in this chapter.

The Colleges

City Center College

There is a steady rise in student enrollments and growth in selected program areas, i.e., academic arts and adult basic education. There is diminution in other selected program areas, i.e., Native education and career programs. International enrollments have surged. Revenue increases are extremely modest at 1% per year, with government grants declining at 1% per year. The college does not have records on employment of former students.

East Shoreline College

There is a rise in enrollments, with major growth in baccalaureate degree programs, a program area recently established. There is modest growth in other program areas such as Adult Basic Education/English as a Second Language, occupational and vocational programs, but this growth is overshadowed by baccalaureate degree program growth. International student enrollments experienced strong growth during the period. Revenues increased by 10.8% per year, which surpassed enrollment growth. Government grants increased as well, but decreased as a percentage of the total revenues. The largest fields for employment of former students included continuing care assistant, nursing, cooks, office administration, and business management.

Rural Valley College

There was substantial rise in enrollments, with baccalaureate degree programs the major factor of growth. International enrollments increased substantially. Revenues increased by 17.5% per year, with government grants falling just short of this increase, thus decreasing as a percentage of revenues. The college does not have records on employment of former students.

North Mountain College

There was modest and continuing increase in enrollments over the 1990s, with newly established applied baccalaureate degree programs, selected vocational and career programs, and adult basic education sustaining this growth. University transfer programs dropped 2% per year during the period. International enrollments grew at 19% per year. Revenues increased at 9% per year, but government grants lagged far behind at an increase of just 1% per year. The largest fields for employment of former students included early childhood education, computing, nursing, and business administration.

Suburban Valley Community College

Enrollments actually decreased by an average of 1% per year. Program growth, however, occurred in university transfer, college preparatory, and special education, with English as a Second Language experiencing the largest increase at 53% per year. Program diminution occurred in vocational programs, adult education, and physical education. International enrollments rose at a rate of 25% per year. Revenues increased at a rate of 8.4% per year, with government grants showing substantial rise, but likely due to changes in state funding and in district office allocations. The largest fields for employment of former students included business, computing, business management, nursing, physical therapy, automotive technician, and human services.

Pacific Suburban Community College

Enrollments increased by an average of 4% per year, with university transfer programs increasing at a rate of 6.8% per year and vocational programs (e.g., culinary arts) increasing at a rate of 16% per year. International enrollments grew dramatically at 56% per year. Revenues grew 10% per year, with government grants falling just slightly behind at 9%. The college does not have records on employment of former students.

City South Community College

Enrollments declined rather significantly at 2.5% per year. While university transfer programs and college preparatory programs actually grew, occupation and vocational programs declined by 6.2% per year. International enrollments grew at a rate of 7% per year. Revenues increased at 6.6% per year, but government grants lagged far behind at an increase of 1% per year. The largest fields for employment of former students included business, automotive, aviation, hospitality and technical education.

College context: region, province/state, nation

Canada

There was modest population growth in Canada at 1% per year. There was also modest income growth, but relatively high unemployment rates at between 8-11%, with decline in these rates occurring in the middle of the decade. There were limited increases in immigration, less than 1/2 % per year. Employment patterns were the most striking, with major declines in jobs in most categories, except wholesale trade, services, and transportation. Government jobs declined by 20% and primary and secondary industry jobs, such as construction and mining, declined by over 10%.

Alberta

Alberta experienced a population growth of nearly 2% per year, but also experienced declining immigration. Unemployment rates were not as high as Canada's average in the 1990s and, in Alberta, unemployment rates fell significantly between 1993 and 1997, from 9.7% to 6.2%. Incomes rose by 1.4% per year, ahead of the Canadian average. Job growth strengthened, especially during the latter half of the decade, except for agriculture which declined by 10% and government which dropped by 19% over the decade. Manufacturing, construction, transportation, communications and wholesale trade showed increases in excess of 24% in the 1990s.

North Mountain Region

North Mountain Region experienced population growth of 1.9% per year, identical to provincial growth. Income in the region rose faster than the provincial average and 250% faster than the national average (2.5%/year compared to 1%/year). Unemployment rates declined at a higher level than both the provincial and national rates. Some of this can be attributed to exceedingly high employment levels in the early and mid-1990s (10.3% in 1992 and 10.6% in 1993). Job growth strengthened over the decade, with high increases in manufacturing, construction, services, transportation and communications, and finance. Even government jobs grew, although at 4.8% over a six year period.

British Columbia

British Columbia experienced a 2.7% yearly population growth, almost three times the rate of growth of Canada. Immigration soared at 9% per year. Income, above the national rate, rose only by 1.5% per year. Unemployment declined slightly over the decade. Job growth and decline altered employment patterns. Service jobs, trade, manufacturing, and finance related jobs rose over 10% between 1991-1998, whereas primary industry jobs declined by nearly 12% over the same period.

City Central Region

City Central Region underwent an even higher population growth rate than the province, with new immigrants making up a substantial part of that growth. Incomes rose at a rate of 2.25% per year, outpacing national growth. Unemployment declined marginally. "Job shift" occurred with large growth in agriculture and service jobs, and declines in public administration, financial services and trade. There was modest growth in jobs in the areas of transportation and communications, manufacturing, and industry.

East Shoreline Region

East Shoreline Region, too, experienced substantial population growth, but not through immigration. Incomes rose by 1.95% per year, ahead of the national average. Unemployment rates declined at a relatively high level. Growth in jobs was marginal, with no substantial job loss in any sector.

Rural Valley Region

Rural Valley Region underwent a high level of population growth at 3.9% per year, with little impact on this growth as a result of immigration. Incomes rose by 2.1% per year, exceeding national averages by 100%. Change in job classification was minimal over the 1991-1996 period.

The United States

There was modest population growth overall in the U.S. At 1% rise per year, population increases are at the same level as in Canada. Immigration declined by an average of just under 1% per year. Income rates rose substantially at 5.27% per year. Unemployment rates fell at about the same rate as in Canada, but began the decade at a substantially lower level than in Canada. Job growth was significant in services and construction, with modest growth in retail, transportation and communications, wholesale trade, finance and government. Of note as well were shifting demographic characteristics, with substantial increases in the Hispanic and Asia/Pacific population.

California

At 1.2% growth per year, California's population growth marginally exceeded the national rate. Of significance in California's population changes was the large scale migration out of the state: there was a -20% per year net migration. Incomes rose at a rate of 3.7% per year, and unemployment declined at a rate of .3% per year. Over the period of 1990-1998, employment grew substantially in services, and moderately in manufacturing, with wholesale and retail trade and government jobs undergoing some growth. Construction jobs declined by 36.2%, and transportation and mining jobs declined slightly. Of note is a changing demographic characteristic: a 20% rise in the Hispanic population and a 25% rise in the Asia/Pacific population.

Suburban Valley Region

The Suburban Valley region underwent a 1.5% per year population growth, with a 15% rise per year in the Hispanic population. Immigration was substantial with an average of over 17,000 immigrants moving into the region. Income rose at a 4.6% per year level. and unemployment declined in relatively substantial fashion by .78% per year. Job growth was forecast as occurring in computer-related fields, including systems analyst at 8.76% per year and computer engineer at 6.7% per year.

Hawaii

Hawaii's population growth was modest at .7% per year, below the national average. Immigration was also modest, with a 2.6% growth per year. Incomes rose at a rate of 2.8%, well below the national average. Unemployment declined marginally. Job growth was experienced largely in retail trade, with very modest growth in services and government. There was substantial decline in jobs during the 1990-1997 period in construction and manufacturing and moderate decline in jobs in wholesale trade, finance, insurance and real estate and transportation and utilities.

Pacific Suburban Region

Population increase in the Pacific Suburban Region was modest and just above the state average. Immigration was substantial with an average of 4,375 immigrants per year. Income rose at a 2.95% level, above the state average but well below the national average. Unemployment rose substantially at a rate of over half a percent a year. Jobs mostly declined in the 1992-1997 period, with service and government jobs experiencing the only rise, although marginally. Construction jobs declined by 28.5%, agriculture by 13.6%, manufacturing by 10.8%, and finance by 7.4%.

Washington

The state of Washington underwent relatively highly population growth at 1.9% per year. Net migration fell by 7% per year. Of note is a 37% rise in the Hispanic population and a 34% rise in the Asia/Pacific population. Incomes rose by 4.7% per year, and unemployment rates dropped by .23% per year. Jobs grew over the 1991-1998 period, with services at 32.4%, transportation and utilities at 21.6%, construction and mining at 19.36%, trade at 18.6%, and finance, insurance and real estate at 15.5%. Government jobs grew by 13.2%.

City South Region

The City South Region underwent moderate population growth at 1.14% per year, nearly identical to the national rate. Net migration was relatively moderate at 8,599 migrants per year. Income rose substantially at 5.65, above the national average. Unemployment declined at .26% per year. Job forecasts for the 1995-2005 period indicates that computer fields, including computing engineers, systems workers and analysts, will undergo the largest growth.

College	Annual expenditures (Canadian $)[*]	Students credit enrollments (full-time equivalency)[†]	Jurisdiction
City Center	**$82,000,000**	**7,237**	**British Columbia**
East Shoreline	**$40,000,000**	**4,655**	**British Columbia**
Rural Valley	**$35,000,000**	**3,772**	**British Columbia**
North Mountain	**$59,000,000**	**6,400**	**Alberta**
Suburban Valley	**$96,000,000**	**8,700**	**California**
Pacific Suburban	**$35,000,000**	**2,441**	**Hawaii**
City South	**$37,500,000**	**3,718**	**Washington**

Table 4.1. College expenditures and credit enrollments, 1995/96.

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[*] Expenditures are not comparable given that for the three U.S. colleges, a district office or university system covers some of the expenses not reflected in individual college expenditures.

[†] Credit enrollment as a category is not consistent across institutions. Some institutions use remedial education and English language training as a non-credit and revenue generating operation, while others apply credit to these programs.

Figure 4.1: Institutional Characteristics, 1990s

	Student Pop. + or - /year	Program enrolls + or - /year	Employ-ment Highest fields	Int'l enrolls + or - /year	Reve-nues + or - /year	Gov. grants + or - /year
City Center College[1]	2%	Academic Arts (68%) ABE (3.9%) Voc. (0%) Native Ed. (-5%) Career (-6.7%)	N/A	56%	1%	-1%
East Shoreline College	4.4%	UT (-2%) Degrees (114%) ABE/ESL (3%) Occup. (3%) Voc. (8%)	continuing care assist.; nurse; cooks; office admin.; business manage	36.8%	10.8%	7.5%
Rural Valley College	13.2%	UT (-2%) Degrees (107%) Career (4.3%) Voc.(13.8%) ABE (7.8%)	N/A	50%	17.5%	16.5%
North Mountain College	2.7%	UT (6.6%) Degree (18.9%) Bus. ad. (0%) Crim. (24.5%)	business admin.; Ece; computing; nurse	19%	9%	1%
Suburban Valley Community College	-1%	UT (2.5%) Coll. Prep. (11.6%) Voc. (-2%) Adult Ed. (-10%) ESL (53%) Sp.ed. (16%) PE (-8%)	business; computing; business manage.; nurse; phy.therapy; auto tech.; human services	25%	8.4%	30%-
Pacific Suburban Community College	4%	UT (6.8%) Occup. (0%) Voc (16%)	N/A	56%	10%	9%
City South Community College	-2.5%	UT (2.5%) Coll. Prep. (5%) Occup/Voc. (-6.2%)	business; auto.; aviation; hospitality; tech. ed.	7%	6.6%	1%

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[1] Formerly part of a larger college; figures reflect the period of 1995-1998.

[2] Change in state funding and in district office calculations.

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Abbreviation key: for figure 4.1

ABE	adult basic education
Degrees	baccalaureate degree programs
UT	university transfer
Occup.	occupational programs
Career	career programs
Coll. Prep.	college preparatory studies
ESL	English as a second language
Voc.	vocational programs
Sp.ed.	special education
Bus.ad.	business administration
Native ed.	native education
PE	physical education
Crim.	criminology
Ece	early childhood education

Figure 4.2: Demographic Characteristics, 1990s

	Population	Immigration	Income	Unemployment	Employment	Other
Canada	+1%/year	.34%/year	1%/year	-.3%/year	[a]	
Alberta	1.9%/year	-6.2%/year	1.4%	-.35%	[b]	
North Mountain	1.9%	7921/year, net migration	2.5%/year	-.42%	[c]	
British Columbia	2.7%	9%/year	1.5%/year	-.2%	[d]	
City Central	3.15%/year	30,183/ year	2.25%/year	-.016%	[e]	
East Shoreline	3.27%	510/year	1.95%	-.5%	[f]	
Rural Valley	3.9%/year	1330/ year	2.1%	N/A	[g]	
U.S.	1%/year	.8%	5.27%	-.32%	[h]	24% rise in Hispanic pop.; 28% rise in Asia/Pacific pop.
California	1.2%/year	-20%/year net	3.7%	-.3%	[i]	20% rise in Hispanic

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[a] Canada, 1991-1996: Wholesale trade (16%), Service (10%), Transportation (2.9%), Government (-20%), Mining (-12.3%), Construction (-11.9%), Finance, Real Estate & Insurance (-9.5%), Utilities (-6.8%) Agriculture (-5.2%), Retail/Trade (-2.7%)

[b] Alberta, 1990-1998 (Statistics Canada data base, 1999): Transportation (39%), Manufacturing (33%), Construction (26%), Wholesale trade (25%), Communications (24%), Mining (11%), Retail Trade (8%), Finance (1%), Government services (-19%), Agriculture (-10%).

[c] North Mountain region, 1992-1997: Manufacturing (52%), Construction (37.6%), Services (25.3%), Transportation & Communications (16%), Finance (13.7%), Government (4.8%), Agriculture and Primary (4.1%), Trade (3.2%).

[d] British Columbia, 1991-1998: Services (29%), Trade (18.1%), Manufacturing (12.6%), Finance, Real Estate & Insurance (11.7%), Construction (10.9%), Transportation & Utilities (7.2%), Government (3.4%), Primary (-11.6%).

[e] City Central region, 1992-1997: Agriculture (32.4%), Services (21.5%), Transportation & Communications (13.1%), Manufacturing (12.1%), Industry (9.3%), Construction (2%), Public administration (-11.7%), Financial services (-5%), Trade (-3.6%).

[f] East Shoreline region, 1991-1996: Finance (2.8%). Primary (2.7%), Construction (1.9%), Trade (1.6%), Transportation & Utilities (1%), Manufacturing (0%), Government (-.03%).

[g] Rural Valley Region, 1991-1996: Change in % of total jobs--Government (1.66%), Construction (-2.17%), Manufacturing (-.44%), Primary (-.44%).

[h] The United States, 1991-1998: Services (32.4%), Construction (28.3%), Retail (16.5%), Transportation & Utilities (13.8%), Wholesale trade (12.23%), Finance & Real estate (10.5%), Government (7.9%), Manufacturing (1.7%), Mining (16.5%).

[i] California, 1990-1998: Services (26%), Manufacturing (11.63%), Wholesale trade (6.14%), Retail trade (4.32%), Government (4.29%), Construction (-36.21%), Transportation & Utilities (-6.52%), Mining (-2.04%).

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	Population	Immigration	Income	Unemployment	Employment	Other
		migration				pop.; 25% rise in Asia/Pacific pop.
Suburban Valley	1.5%/year	17,472/ year	4.6%	-.78%	[j]	15.6% rise in Hispanic pop.
Hawaii	.7%/year	2.6%	2.8%	-.025%	[k]	
Pacific Suburban.	1%/year	4,375/year	2.95%	.55%	[l]	
Washington	1.9%/year	-7% net migration	4.7%	-.23%	[m]	37% rise in Hispanic pop.; 34 % rise in Asia/Pacific pop.
City South	1.14%/year	8,599/year net migration	5.6%/year	-.26%	[n]	

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[j] Suburban Valley Region, 1994-2001 outlook: Systems analyst (8.76%/year), Computer engineer (6.7%/year).

[k] Hawaii, 1990-1997: Retail trade (18.3%), Services (6.3%), Government (2.5%), Construction (-33.5%), Manufacturing (-18.8%), Wholesale trade (-7.9%), Finance, insurance & real estate (-6.3%), Transportation & Utilities (-4.4%).

[l] Pacific Suburban Region, 1992-1997: Services (2.17%), construction (-28.5%), Agriculture (-13.6%), Manufacturing (-10.8%), Finance (-7.4%), Transportation & Communications (-6.2%), Trade (-2.3%), Government (-1.3%).

[m] Washington, 1991-1998: Services (32.4%), Transportation & Utilities (21.6%), Construction/Mining (19.36%), Trade (18.6%), Finance, insurance, & real estate (15.5%), Government (13.2%).

[n] City South region, 1995-2005 outlook/year: Computing, (16.25%), Systems workers (10.7%), Systems analyst (9.2%), Care aids (8.6%), Professional & Technical (3.5%) Administration/management (2.6%), Services (2.6%), Marketing & Sales (2.5%).

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- Chapter 5: Case Histories

As noted previously, the seven colleges are given fictitious names: Suburban Valley Community College (SVCC); East Shoreline College (ESC); City South Community College (CSCC); Pacific Suburban Community College (PSCC); City Center College (CCC); Rural Valley College (RVC); and North Mountain College (NMC). In this chapter, a case history for each college is offered through several analytical frameworks: globalization, organizational adaptation, organizational strategy, institutional mission, and institutional structures. These case histories serve as data that are referred to in subsequent chapters. The collection and analysis of data are explained in detail in Chapter 3 of this report. The display of data in this chapter is carried out through the use of tables. Tables with the second digit of "1" display the themes and the institutional manifestations of globalization. Tables with the second digit of "2" display adaptation approaches and institutional manifestations of these approaches. Tables with the second digit of "3" display institutional strategies and the intended outcomes of these strategies. Tables using "4" in their second digit display alterations to missions and the determinants of these alterations. Finally, tables with the second digit of "5" display those structures which either are changing or have changed and the determinants of these changes.

Suburban Valley Community College

Suburban Valley Community College (SVCC) is a large (24,000+ student population) community college situated in an affluent and productive region in Northern California, close to the San Francisco Bay area. It is part of a two college district, and has a national reputation as an innovative institution. As a California community college it has experienced and been affected by broad policy changes, such as 1978 Proposition 13, which altered funding for the community colleges shifting authority from the local level to raise taxes to state control over revenue generation through taxation, and Assembly Bill 1725, which among other actions, influenced governance behaviors. Furthermore, the California recession of the early 1990s gave rise to further restrictions on state funding (Schrag, 1998). Yet the 1990s also brought increasing numbers of immigrants to the area and growth in the local computer and electronics industry. While state government remained non-responsive to articulated needs in education and increasingly restrictive in funding postsecondary education, demand continued from both the business community for well-trained workers and community members for education, from basic skills and language training to academic studies. In the mid-1990s, an enrollment fee for credit courses in community colleges was mandated, and coupled with a resuscitated economy both in the state and nationally, enrollments declined, notably in both college preparatory and university transfer areas. SVCC experienced financial difficulties in the early 1990s, and expenditures outpaced revenues. Consequently, employee downsizing, layoffs, was the result, with support staff taking the brunt of the employment loss.

Against this fiscal context, SVCC endeavored to maintain its reputation as an innovative institution. Additionally, in the mid 1990s, the college leadership, particularly propelled by the arrival of a new president, formalized a new organizational structure, one based loosely on an educational ideology that embraced interdisciplinarity, diversity, and teamwork. Moreover, adding complexity to this condition, a new district chancellor was appointed in the mid-1990s, and this chancellor, while embracing reform concepts of learning in postsecondary education which included the rejection of disciplinarity and the embrace of new electronic technologies, brought a more strident managerial approach to both the district and the college. This approach favored pragmatism over tradition, rationality over sentiment, and supervision over autonomy. What this means is that the chancellor attempts to alter the past practices of the college in an effort to adapt the institution to a changing environment. For the chancellor, that environment is market-driven, high technology, and global.

There are at least three distinct concepts of SVCC. One is that envisioned but not realized by the chancellor; the second is that under-development by the college president; and the third is that combination of traditional patterns of behavior and reputational myth adhered to by support staff, many faculty including the faculty union, and long-serving administrators. The college is both a complex and ambiguous site; it is also a contested terrain where struggles over curriculum, over management and governance, over organizational structure, over technology, and over fiscal resources and salaries are a backdrop for educating and preparing a diverse student body in a geographical region where the concepts local and global co-exist.

Globalization

Table 1.1.

Themes	Manifestations
Workforce Training: preparation of students for a "global society"; meet changing needs of business and industry; provide experiential learning; prepare a high technology workforce	Establishment of an occupational training institute; promotion of training opportunities for students; increased enrollments in Computer Information Systems program, increased graduate rates in Business Administration; emphasis upon cooperative education and community internships
Internationalization: emphasis upon diversity and multi-culturalism, as well as upon international students; responsive to student demographics, which include a large Asian population, and a large recent immigrant population; consistent with high technology business and industry community which has an international focus	Intercultural and international studies program--growth in offerings; multi-cultural and international center established; articulations in college catalog and annual report about both diversity and internationalization of campus; international enrolments rise from 657 in 1989 to over 1800 in 1996, with the majority from Asian countries; large offerings in English as a second language, to serve new immigrants; diversity efforts for employees as well, including targeted hiring of minorities
Electronic Technology: increasing emphasis on technology training, on new technologies for instruction and for delivery, on integration of information technologies into workplace, on remaining competitive, on responding to local business and industry; use of technology to attract students, to maintain image as innovative, leading college; use technology to alter curriculum and instruction	Establishment and construction of an advanced technology center; increasing expenditures on equipment; increase in distance education and use of on-line delivery--from first course in Spring 1996 to 15 courses in Fall 1997; in distance education, course offering rose from 92 in 1988/89 to 166 in 1996/97; offering of Bio-technology program for local industry; case of Mathematics where there is an ideological struggle over curriculum and the use of electronic technologies--internet, computers, calculators--involving both student abilities and increasing access and enrollments.
Labor Alterations: faculty work alters in responding to diverse students and variation in student abilities; managers' work broadens with re-organization and increases in order to meet new demands, especially for productivity and accountability; staff work increases as a result of early 1990s layoff and elimination of close to 50 positions; increased use of electronic technology for work and for instruction adds to workload of all, with the concept of shared governance and the use of committees driving non-instructional work	Increased benefits but greater safeguards to employer, for example, parental leave for men; increase weekly contact hours for faculty; more flexible delivery of curriculum, especially through the use of technology; encourage shared governance for timely problem solving to improve decision-making; early retirement incentives with qualifiers for continued employment; new requirements for non-credit instructors; performance improvement guidelines for faculty; faculty exchange within district; staff reassignment; faculty work to contract invoked; administrative pay for performance
Productivity and Efficiency: driven by state funding shortfalls, the college and the district look to increasing faculty workloads by increasing class sizes and increasing student numbers to gain state funds; college is not producing up to expectations and the district office is not providing parity in revenues to the two district colleges	Increase student contact hours to increase full-time student equivalency numbers; increase student access and retention to increase enrollment; faculty overloads and use of part-time instructors to meet demand efficiently; emphasis upon measurable financially beneficial gains; administrative pay-for-performance program--administrators' incentives to produce, especially student enrollments
Public sector funding constraints: California	Drive to increase enrollments as funding from

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system of funding based upon limits to property tax assessments leads to shortage of funds to support demands of higher education; targeted funding from the state to support specific areas but not salaries	state is enrollment driven; look to other funding sources; look to increase productivity and efficiency; look to offer high demand programs; union-management tensions over salaries and over push for greater productivity; layoff of staff and elimination of positions in early 1990s; equipment in established instructional areas (e.g., Science) not upgraded; incentives for early retirement to decrease salary commitments
Restructuring: reallocations of resources to high demand areas and to strategically attractive areas; organizational re-structuring to cope with limited resources and to complement institutional ideologies about learning and education	Resources shifted to high technology areas and to both computer equipment and technical support in computers and distance education; establishment of a learning communities organization to address changing student needs, to increase organizational responsiveness, to adjust to management limitations, both personnel and quantity, to broaden participation in decision-making by organizational members, and to encourage inter and multi-disciplinarity in instructional areas
State intervention: increasing accountability; demand for greater productivity; imposition of funding policies and revenue generating policies	State mandated pay for performance administrative plan; state mandated participatory governance (1988); state mandated enrollment fees; state mandated performance indicators and targeted funding; policy initiative for career preparation; state law constrains distance education (must have some face-to-face component); registration constrained by law that demands in-person signature; state incentives for technological improvements
Private sector interaction: connections to local high technology culture at expense of local community needs (students)	Courses for business and industry; serving needs of high technology community in programming (e.g., bio-technology)
Partnerships: connections to external agencies, institutions, and business to attract students and to provide students with learning and training opportunities	Associations with and sponsorship from film animation companies for student placements, from computer companies for software and equipment, and with businesses and community groups for student internships and cooperative education placements; agreements with colleges and K-12 schools
External competition: competition for students with other postsecondary providers; compete to attract students to gain enrollments which become revenue from state and district	New private postsecondary institutions in past year; compete with other local community colleges, and this results in larger numbers of remedial students at college; compete with sister college both for students and for revenues from district office; compete to maintain reputation and to keep up with changing technologies and new ideas
Homogenization: moving to more standardization and bureaucratization, as well as legalism (collective agreements)	Managerial approach of district office, in response to issues of productivity, labor-relations; union response to management style through work-to-rule behaviors; more systematic planning in response to revenue limitations
Commodification: services, especially educational and training, as products for the gaining of revenue and to attract students to increase enrollments	Distance education not only locally but internationally; courses and programs for business and industry

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Globalization affects Suburban Valley Community College in several interrelated ways (see Table 1.1.). First and foremost is the college's location in a region nationally and internationally renowned and highly competitive internationally in high technology industries, especially computers and computer software. Thus, a global economic and cultural environment is adjacent to the college. The college serves this environment through training the workforce and by applying the products of these industries, such as computer software. The area attracts workers internationally, and the social web of organizations in the region masks distinctions between private and public, with private institutions and public institutions interacting with the computer industry.

The increasing use and pervasive influence of electronic technology is a second force acting upon the college. Historically, the college established a reputation as an "innovator" and "educational leader". Thus, such a role, if to be maintained, must match external expectations. That is, SVCC must adopt electronic technologies such as information technologies (e.g., e-mail, voice-mail, on-line registration) and educational technologies (e.g., Web-based instruction) to achieve recognition, nationally. Additionally, in order to attract students to increase enrollments and to gain needed revenue, the college must offer what the public and business and industry expect: this includes current electronic equipment, user-friendly instructional approaches, and a computer literate student. Finally, the use of electronic technology is increasingly supporting distance education, that delivery system which not only satisfies the needs of the public, especially the adult, working public, but also increases productivity, through distance education enrollments. The potential of distance education for revenue generation is dependent upon electronic technology for delivery--including on-line instruction and satellite broadcast video.

A third globalizing trend, multi-culturalism, is the result of large numbers of immigrants, especially from non-Western countries. Asian immigration is a consequence of numerous factors including political conflicts, rapid industrialization, and the promise of economic prosperity in California (Schrag, 1998). The importance of Asia globally is both as a market for products and as a source of labor. This suggest the need to cultivate closer ties to Asian cultures and the need to integrate Asians into other societies. The large Asian population as well as the large non-Anglo population at SVCC has meant that diversity and multi-culturalism are practical concepts. The college has responded to its student population by altering programming, curricula, and college social life to fit student ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, new organizational structures are established and inter and multi-disciplinarity in curricula has gained prominence as the college adapts to college members' understanding of "new learning needs of students", especially part-time learners and non-native English speakers, and concepts of "learning in a global context".

Greater productivity and efficiency as a consequence of lessening state fiscal support for education also figure prominently in organizational behaviors, and constitute a fourth globalizing trend. Actions of re-structuring and increasing workloads for college employees are connected to the drive for increased productivity. Furthermore, even though there are limitations to state supported education, the state is viewed as increasing its influence in college operations. Recently, the state instituted performance indicators for monitoring and evaluating college outcomes, although largely in the form of quantitative measures such as increasing student numbers. These indicators are intended to be tied to funding, so that "increased funding" will be dependent upon "increases in measures of productivity". Thus the state directs the college because the college is largely dependent upon the state for revenues. Also, state policy initiatives such as increased emphasis upon training of students and greater infusion of technological equipment into the workplace affect both instruction and administrative and clerical work.

Other globalizing trends--increases in private sector interaction, partnerships with business and industry, competition among product providers, increasing homogenization of services and products and the provision of services, such as instruction, as goods to be consumed--are present although not as prevalent as the four trends noted above. For example, commodification of education is present in the form of services and programs. The college develops and offers specific training for local business and industry; and the college relies upon distance education delivery both to serve local needs and to position itself as a provider of education via distance education for a national and international market.

Organizational Adaptation

Table 1.2.

Approaches	Manifestations
Population Ecology	Local environment of high technology business and industry, immigrant populations, large local Asian population, "20% of students population is in lowest socio-economic category", including

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	welfare recipients, but predominantly affluent community; English as a second language offerings for new immigrants and other non-native speakers; short term programs for Welfare-to-Work population, multi-cultural and diversity emphasis in curriculum and in institutional life; transfer agreements and articulations with state and private universities and comprehensive university transfer program; curricular emphasis is remedial, English as a second language, academic and two year occupational (e.g., nursing) and not vocational: no trades' programs such as welding or construction; contract training for small business;
Life Cycles	Retirements as noticeable phenomenon--faculty and most recently administrators; division of old employees and new employees, which includes adherence to old traditions and values and fostering of new behaviors and values; long time faculty member and union president retires; increasing numbers of part-time faculty as full-time faculty age and are neither replaced nor are their ranks added to by younger faculty; institutional memory of former president and former chancellor influential in present behaviors
Strategic Choice	President establishes new organizational structure (learning communities), emphasizing multi-disciplinarity and teamwork; college leadership emphasizes diversity, high technology, and innovation; chancellor emphasizes efficiency, high technology, and new delivery methods; all emphasize increasing enrollments to gain fiscal resources from state
Symbolic Action	Pervasive image of college as innovative and educational leader; image of technologically sophisticated institution--perpetuated by administrators and some faculty
Accidentalism	Personal friction between district officers, especially chancellor, and college employees, especially union leadership; friction between board, especially board chair, and union leadership; differing management styles at the two district colleges; state intervention; state funding behaviors, including significant state-wide decline in education funding; California State University policy toward remedial education--turning community colleges into remedial sites

Adaptation approaches (see Table 1.2.) for Suburban Valley Community College indicate that at least two approaches are prevalent--life cycles and strategic choice. The college is influenced in its behaviors by its employee profile, its aging faculty, its large percentage of part-time faculty, and the institutional memory of its past, including its former president and former chancellor. As a pattern of behaviors and as motivation for behaviors, the past has a significant effect upon present actions.

College members, especially managers, rely upon various strategies to adapt the college to its environment, to maintain its reputation, and to aid in the survival of the institution. The college is influenced by its local environment, including its students and their social and cultural backgrounds, the expectations and demands of business and industry, and the expectations of its affluent community members. The president is viewed as responsible for a re-structuring decision, to alter both administrative operations and to adjust instruction to match learner needs. As well, college employees act upon managerial decisions to emphasize diversity, in hiring faculty for example, and to commit fiscal and human resources to the acquisition of technology facilities and equipment. Additionally, the goal of increasing enrollments and improving productivity leads to a strategy to increase distance education. Furthermore, the use of distance education complements the maintenance of the college's image as an innovative institution. These strategies accompany a trend in declining enrollments and declining state resources for students (i.e., declining per unit revenues) and are largely in aid of generating revenue from the state so that the college can survive (See Table 1.2.).

Accidentalism. There is personal friction between the district's officers, especially the chancellor, and college employees, especially union leadership. There is also friction between the board, especially the board chair, and union leadership. There is also a long-term pattern of declining state funding for higher education, and this condition has in turn affected employer-employee relations at SVCC. Finally, there is a recent policy at state universities toward remedial education: in effect, dropping remedial education from four-year schools. This in turn suggests that the state's community colleges are becoming remedial education centers, a condition that is resisted by many SVCC members, yet embraced by some, thereby creating institutional tensions.

Strategy

Table 1.3.

Description	Intended Outcomes
Maintain and build upon image as an innovative, sophisticated institution that is a leader in community college education	Maintain influential role; attract students and thus enrollments for fiscal gain from the state; conform to expectations of local population and business and industry
Promote diversity and multi-culturalism	Meet the needs of students; increase enrollments
Emphasize high technology education and educational and information technology	Meet the expectations of local business and industry and local community members; attract students particularly from other districts, maintain national reputation; provide workforce training

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	for business and industry
Develop and sustain new organizational forms and alter approaches to education; this includes the development of the learning communities structure, the emphasis upon inter and multi-disciplinarity, and the support for distance delivery	Address changing social and personal needs of both employees and students; follow new understanding of student learning and needs of employers; attract new students and prepare to supply programs to other countries for financial gain.
Provide a structure for team-work, a variation of matrix management	Develop and sustain a more cohesive organization and a community; adapt to changes in the external environment
Serve students' needs, particularly educational needs	Increase enrollments for financial gain from the state; respond to changing student abilities
Increase productivity; acquire more resources	Attract more students both to gain additional funds from the state and to secure parity with sister college within district; use technology such as computers in place of labor; respond to student needs and to the requirements of business and industry; innovate; fit organization and instruction to needs of external environment to attract students; retain existing students; improve and increase marketing of institution; increase use of distance delivery, including on-line courses; consider increasing international student enrollments; use satellite broadcasts to other countries for revenue generation

Strategy at Suburban Valley Community College entails responding to external forces yet maintaining historical patterns of behavior and institutional identity. The image of the college, both locally and nationally, as an innovative and sophisticated institution, is maintained and indeed developed further, not just to provide employees with a valued self-image but also to increase enrollments by attracting new students. The college responds to its external environment by promoting diversity and multi-culturalism, by emphasizing high technology education and its use of electronic technology in both administrative work and instruction. A re-structuring of the organization was a specific action of major proportions, occurring in the mid 1990s to address both internal and external needs, responding to both new students and new understandings of students--both their learning needs and their socio-cultural backgrounds--as well as both the size and dynamics of the college's workforce. The structure encourages matrix management, team-work, and fewer administrators, with faculty and staff involvement on committees and faculty interaction with each other and with different student populations through inter and multi-disciplinarity. The college's emphasis upon electronic technology, for example its use in distance education, is a strategy not only to attract and serve more students but also to increase institutional productivity. Thus strategies include the preservation of institutional image, social responsiveness, student focus, the use of technology for work and learning, changing organizational structures for both productivity and inculcating teamwork, and finally increasing enrollments to achieve productivity gains and thus acquire more fiscal resources.

Mission and Structure

Table 1.4.: Mission

Mission Alterations	Determinants
Greater focus upon learner, customers and consumer needs	To meet learner needs, to fit conceptions about market demands
Curtailing adult basic education; underplaying ESL	To preserve image as leader in education and prestigious institution
Emphasis upon high-tech, multiculturalism, internationalism	To meet student needs; to attract students; to meet community expectations
More business-like; more productivity oriented; less emphasis upon lower skills and more on technology	Need to attract students and increase enrollments; to deal with funding constraints
Remediation for underprepared students; serving working adults (especially increased use of distance education)	Increase enrollments, meet student needs, meet employers' needs
Survival, increase productivity, innovation	Combat funding shortfalls, limits, and decline in enrollments
Decrease community focus	Loss of non-credit programs because of need for resource acquisition; focus upon requirements of business and industry
Confused mission; mission under review	"Like rats running in a maze"--too much work, too many contributors to change; deterioration of labor-management relations

Table 1.5.: Structures

Changed or changing structures	Determinants
Re-organization into learning communities; efforts to change old structures; greater integration of some areas; break-up of old areas and relationships; building of Advanced Technology Center; increase in distance education development and facilities	Maintain profile as educational leader; attract students; conform to business and industry expectations
Reduction of work force in some areas; downsizing counseling; elimination of adult learning programs	Cope with budget shortfalls; state decreases in per unit costs
Interpersonal and group conflicts; breakdown of relationships; efforts to dismantle; speeds things up and slows things down; two decision structures--shared governance and administration	Formalizing and state mandating of organizational behaviors in opposition to historical behavioral patterns
Integration of technology into work and curriculum; integration of multiculturalism into curriculum and college operations and college life	Conform to educational ideologies of senior managers; attract students and meet student needs
Greater district influence and control; greater friction; union-management conflicts	New chancellor, greater managerialism; greater central control; opposition to historical behavioral patterns

College mission and structures have altered in the 1990s, and these alterations

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suggest that the institution is itself altering. But alteration is impeded on the one hand by the college's reputation as an innovative and leading community college and on the other hand by resistance from faculty and some long-serving administrators who value the practices and goals of the past, such as less formalization of operations and greater emphasis upon academic education (see Tables 1.4. & 1.5.).

But, there is an informal interest group of faculty and some administrators within the college who do not want to see the college mission altered, to become a tool of business and industry, to lose its educational leadership position. While they compromise on some issues, such as accepting the president's re-structuring of the college, they rebel against increasing district control and increasing managerialism and formalism. They develop alternate agendas such as innovating through interdisciplinary studies and personal gain such as early retirement packages and teaching overloads so that faculty can earn more than administrators. Faculty turn to union militancy during conflict over productivity or over issues of unilateral decision-making by district managers or the governing board.

In spite of strategies to emphasize high technology and higher status programs, the college has become more remedial in its educational services and more of a skill provider for the workforce in its training. The college endeavors to accommodate new learners, those who are part-time, working adults or aspiring workers, those with general skill and language and mathematics deficiencies, in order to serve these students and to gain enrollments. To serve these students, the college is moving to increasing use of electronic technologies to deliver curricula, through distance education practices, and to provide assistance to students. Changing student demographics (e.g., in 1997/98, 35% of students worked 40 hours a week or more), changing industry needs, new government welfare policy that requires short term training, and new immigrants with diverse backgrounds have contributed to the altering student body.

Conclusion

It is evident that sides must be taken in the actions of the college, as the college alters its strategies, its missions, and its structures. The sides are drawn, for or against electronic technologies, for or against remedial education, for or against diversity, for or against the faculty union, for or against the organizational structure of a "learning community", for or against the past, its values and practices, and for or against educational reforms. There is considerable complexity over the primary articulated role of the institution--to educate and train students. This complexity involves for example the outcomes of instruction and the extent to which education and training are responses to learning needs or to the values of business and industry, and the expectations of government, whereby education and training are more of inculcation of acceptable behaviors to serve employers, rather than the needs of individual learners. A palpable tension is present within the college between the drive to increase enrollments in order to capture greater state funds and the desire to maintain a high profile image as an innovative, prestigious institution. This tension can be seen in the conflicts over staffing the Technology facility and in hiring full time faculty for the Arts and Sciences. Some organizational members attempt to mollify the tensions by promoting technology as the vehicle of access, the means of improving student learning, and as a strategy to increase enrollments and thereby gain the needed fiscal resources to support education.

Some college members and other observers (Schrag, 1998) believe that Proposition 13 in 1978 initiated the decline of public education in the state. Others, are less historically minded, but acknowledge severe decline and considerable college actions to “keep up”, to maintain quality and to attract both students and revenues from the state. At SVCC, there is a strong culture, one that fosters the belief in the college's qualities, including its members' work ethic, its student outcomes--whether those are manifest in transfer rates or job placement--and its historical legacy. It is clear from the images of the past that college members hold up as ideals of the present that SVCC has not met its own expectations; yet, college members extol the virtues of the past's greatness and continue to work toward making their ideals concrete. They face a nearly insurmountable condition: increases in workload, increases in student and public expectations, changing student demographics with larger numbers of under-prepared students, greater accountability initiatives, aging employees, facilities and equipment, greater workplace expectations for graduates, and, finally, decreasing fiscal resources.

East Shoreline College

East Shoreline College (ESC) is situated in the Canadian province of British Columbia, where there is both a dynamic political environment and a vibrant, although resource dependent, economy. ESC is an expansive institution, with a ten year pattern of growth in programs, in student numbers, in employees, and in facilities. In the 1990s and especially the late 1990s, neither government funding nor institutionally generated revenues can keep up with growth. While the college "produces" more and more full time equivalency student numbers, it is funded less and less by government to support this growth.

Within the institution, there are rising expectations by specific program areas for growth, rising union demands for salary increases, and externally there are government demands for productivity, efficiency, accountability and marketplace responsiveness, placing pressures upon both curriculum and delivery. When in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the provincial government authorized specific community colleges to undertake the development and offering of a limited range of baccalaureate degree programs, ESC was chosen and began to build programs, attract students, and hire faculty, staff, and administrators. Enrollments grew by approximately 75% in a decade. Much of this growth came in the baccalaureate degree programs, with over 1000 full-time equivalency students added to the college in Science, Liberal Arts, Nursing, Education, and Business programs among others. Both academically-oriented and occupationally-oriented, or applied, degree programs constituted major areas of growth. At the same time, enrollments in traditional vocational programs faltered, and instructional expenditures while increasing up to 30%/year over a ten year period in degree programs climbed 13%/year in vocational. The tensions between the degree programs and the vocational programs are accentuated because of the accompanying expansion and diminution of student enrollments, offerings, and resources. When faced with budget shortfalls, a situation where the college fairly consistently finds itself, ESC encounters internal friction as well as serious and lengthy deliberation about options for and a final course of action.

But, decision-making and deliberation, as well as day-to-day management of ESC, has altered in the past decade, attributable in large part to government legislation that codifies shared institutional governance, a bi-cameral arrangement where a senate-type body of organizational employees and students deliberate over educational and educationally related issues, advising a college board of governors on some matters and conveying their decisions to the board on other matters. Alterations to governance structures and processes at ESC have granted faculty greater decision-making authority and lessened the power of both administrators and the governing board in directing the college.

Furthermore, in addition to legislation on governance, the provincial government and its department responsible for colleges are parties to two other major developments in the latter half of the 1990s: provincial-wide collective bargaining and a system-wide strategic plan for the colleges. These actions--the establishment of a framework for collective bargaining and the formalization of a strategic plan--not only coordinate college actions and decision-making in a number of areas, such as the use of electronic technology in instruction and faculty compensation, but also lessens institutional autonomy, making single institutions dependent upon all institutions as a whole as well as upon government. These actions increase the role of government in the management of colleges, including ESC.

The college has also an historic reputation as an entrepreneurial institution. It continues to maintain not only the reputation but also the practice of seeking and attracting new revenue streams. It competes for provincial and federal government contracts, for government agency contracts; it arranges contracts with foreign governments and institutions for training; and it secures contracts with private business and industry, locally and provincially. These behaviors and the marketplace positioning of the college have evolved and co-existed with the development of a strong academic culture, where the institution in the 1990s has begun, in several ways, to resemble a university. Indeed, the institution is now recognized by the national association of universities as conforming to established criteria for status as a Canadian university. All of these conditions, including university status for a college with a mission of a community college, bi-cameral governance, rapid growth and funding constraints, and the several organizational schisms including vocational and academic, global and local, and capitalism and community of scholars, and others such as unionism and corporatism, suggest a dynamic environment where mission is altering, where structures change monthly, and where strategies abound but where implementation is an act of considerable caution.

Globalization

Table 2.1.

Themes	Manifestation
Internationalization: long history, since early 1980s of international education and international contract training; but increases in 1990s including larger numbers of international students, and increased participation by faculty and increasing revenues; vulnerability to global economies	Projects in Asia (Japan, Vietnam, Thailand), Central America, South America (Guyana, Peru), and other Southeast countries (Indonesia, India); use of foreign sites for faculty development and student work placements; development and establishment of international secondary school (grades 10-12); more curricular and program emphasis on international topics/subjects(e.g.,

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	business programs); college defends its international activities in publications, locally; loss of revenues ($500,000) in 1997/98 as a result of Asian economic downturn
Workforce training: prior to 1990s, the college projected the image and profile of an institution that was predominantly oriented to vocational and occupation education; in the 1990s, there are numerous articulations about the college's commitment to workforce training--college goal for year 2000 is strengthening commitment to workforce training; plans to develop new programs to meet falling number of skilled workers in the provincial labor force, based upon government commitment to support and fund training; short-term training programs through contracts with business, industry and government, including international contracts; government emphasis on training, and college tries to respond	In 1983, college claimed that 60% of student enrollment is in job training area; enrollments in traditional workforce training areas diminish (e.g., welding, forestry) or job opportunities lessen (e.g., office administration); shift in emphasis to "life-long learning" to retrain displaced workers; development of more applied degrees; emphasis upon job preparation in Sciences (e.g., Biology, where third and fourth year students apply science to the workplace); increasing attention to skills development for workplace readiness
Electronic technology: to keep up with growth in students and institutional activities but without corresponding growth in personnel, use electronic technologies to increase productivity; use to provide educational services, especially to remote locations; meet needs of marketplace in the use of computer technology; integrate computers into instruction to train and prepare students for the workplace	Increase computers and computer labs for student use; experimentation with on-line courses; enlarge distance education offerings; merging of instructional computing and media services; health sciences and business programs attempt to respond to increasing use of computers in clinical settings and in workplace; administrative systems increasingly automated; increased use of information technology and increased workloads
Labor alterations: greater autonomy of institutional units, with corresponding "academic capitalism" suggesting that the ambitious and successful grow and gain resources and the others diminish; budget short-falls; decreasing part-time employees in some areas; increasing work for administrators and faculty; changing workloads for faculty; administrative budgets decline or do not keep up to instructional budgets, thus more work for fewer administrators; new collective bargaining structure in province for colleges alters working conditions and affects salaries and college budgets; management of employees altering	Faculty involved in degree programs have lower contact hours with students than other faculty; administrators responsible for more work areas (e.g., college president took on work of a vice-president when vice-president resigned); new delivery approaches (e.g., on-line instruction) increases faculty workload, as does increasing reliance upon information technologies (e.g., email); alteration in academic faculty workload negotiated to permit scholarship and reduce classroom teaching; new governance structures increases time committed to committee work for all employees; continual budget shortfall projections involves increased time in development of options for action and in consultation and deliberation with affected parties; provincial-wide settlement to establish a province-wide grid for salaries increased salary expenditures, leading to budget shortfall; governance structures and processes have lessened managerial control over labor; provincial-wide contract negotiations have moved institutional industrial relations more to a centralized provincial system location
Productivity and Efficiency: college endeavors to cope with actual growth and expectations for growth by greater efficiencies and by increasing productivity; productivity increases are experienced in faculty areas and efficiencies are realized by reducing labor; additionally the college pursues fiscal resources both within government, through government agencies, and in the private sector	International links to gain more students, but adds to faculty workload (e.g., working with students with English as their second language in career programs); college uses key performance indicators (efficiency measures) for decisions about reductions; increases of class sizes from 24-26 students in some program areas, 12-16 in others, in order to accommodate growth without increasing costs; reductions in curriculum in

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	response to budget shortfalls (e.g., 2nd year Science labs for students for once/week to once every 2 weeks)
Public sector funding constraints: provincial government maintains funding without increase, even for "costs of living", to bolster provincial economy (e.g., avoid debt, attract international investors); provincial government declining revenues from forestry industry; more emphasis provincially on a market economy; government at federal level reduces financial support for postsecondary education; all constraints at a time when college is in growth cycle; college decreasing its dependency upon government funding grants; government fiscal limitations alter programming; continuing concerns over finances, short-falls and potential layoffs	Limitations upon funding curtail growth, increase college's energies toward discussion of revenues and expenditures, toward more entrepreneurial behaviors; college receives $32 million from provincial government, with over $20 million coming from tuition, ancillary services (bookstore, parking), and contracts with government, government agencies, international governments, institutions and private businesses, and approximately $1 million from the private sector; college cuts in instruction and administration, but not student services; reduction in government sponsored students (lower socio-economic backgrounds); college moves closer to marketplace to secure resources; lessening support for marginal program offerings (e.g., college preparatory)
Restructuring: a series of structural changes to adapt to changing demands, to altered funding patterns, and to new growth and development areas; but restructuring is mainly evident through the establishment of baccalaureate degree programs	Loss of vice-president and retirement of deans assist in integration of work units but increase work loads; cuts in services and programs largely not structural, but by 1997/98 intention to cut large areas and programs; major structural change in additions of baccalaureate degree granting structures (e.g., new programs, new personnel, new governance, new funding)
State intervention: innumerable policy initiatives, legislative acts, incentives to make colleges more responsive to public and government interests, specifically to increase productivity, to respond to workplace demands, and to satisfy public opinion; strengthened college's role as extensions of government	Provincial government legislated the establishment of university-colleges as baccalaureate degree granting institutions out of community colleges, legislated shared governance, instituted a three year tuition freeze, altered funding policy to more specific targeted funding, developed more competitive environment for colleges among each other and between colleges and other providers (e.g., Skills Centers); new emphasis upon applied programs and applied degrees; use of outcomes measures for decisions and funding allocations
Private sector interaction: training for local and international business and industry; pursue revenues to support growth; tailor programs to suit needs of business and industry; promoted with incentives from provincial government	Donations from private sector to support college activities and facilities; limited revenues from the private sector, but revenues help to support college growth; president's work entails considerable interaction with private sector in search of revenues for college
Partnerships: Revenue potentials; international associations with other institutions; joint ventures with provincial institutions and agencies	Degree granting status helps college to associate on equal footing with external agencies; opportunities for student projects; joint ventures with school districts; educational agreements and joint projects with international institutions; agreements with government agencies to provide services
External competition: competition is largely in the form of competing for revenue generating contracts and against other postsecondary institutions for government operating and capital grants	Competitive environment internally for resources; competition pushes performance but also causes stress among employees; "winners and losers" internally; little competition locally with other providers of educational services; baccalaureate degree status alters dependency relationship of college upon provincial universities
Homogenization: government and institutional adoption of key performance indicators reduces	To gain government favor and thus revenues, and to compete internally for funds and thus survival,

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processes and behaviors to measurable outcomes; little homogenization of curriculum	college units and the college as a whole not only translate actions and behaviors into measurable outcomes but also change behaviors to reflect an outcomes bias: this can be seen in comparing growth in student numbers in instructional areas and in external funding sources
Commodification: training as international product; serving interests and needs of local and provincial business and industry both through contract training and program graduates; college offers what is marketable	Use international contracts to increase revenues; services for international students such as arrangements for accommodation, academic advising, advanced registration; design special purpose programs (e.g., English Language Training); established secondary school for international students; college responds to provincial government policy in having education move closer to business (e.g., employment in tourism and international business); college expends energy and resources in marketing both the college and education, locally and internationally

East Shoreline College has expanded considerably in the 1990s, in student numbers, in programs, and in revenues and expenditures; at the same time, government funding has not kept pace with growth. Thus, the college in order to support and maintain growth has enlarged its resource generating behaviors, focusing upon international markets as well as local markets. Although there is less government funding relative to institutional expenditures over a ten year period, there is evidence to suggest increased government influence and control over college behaviors and actions. Government funding behaviors, including productivity incentives and targeted funding for specific programs; government intervention in the collective bargaining relationship between faculty and the college, most evident in the establishment of a provincial wide bargaining structure; and government legislative action, particularly in the change to governing board composition and in the establishment of a formal body (Educational Council) to share governance with the governing board and administration have considerable influence over college actions and in the development of college structures and processes. Moreover, government permissive legislation for baccalaureate degree programs at ESC affected not only growth but also academic culture and institutional purpose.

These actions, including government policy, government funding behaviors, greater institutional alignment to both international and local markets, and growth itself aided in increasing globalization of ESC (see Table 2.1.). Commodification of higher education can be seen in the exportation and selling of both training and education in Asia, South America, and Europe: this exchange of goods and services for revenues was intended to support institutional growth. Internally, the college emphasized productivity and efficiency, with larger class sizes, fewer administrators, and more reliance upon electronic technology for work: actions intended to cope with budget shortfalls. The college also turned toward workforce training, not so much in providing vocational programs to students, but in providing skills and job specific training to employers and by emphasizing job skills in baccalaureate degree programs. Additionally, privatization grew, with for example the establishment of an international, private secondary school, under the jurisdiction of the college, drawing resources from private citizens in Asia, particularly Japan. In this environment, the college has created "winners" and "losers", imitating global economic behaviors. At ESC, degree programs are viewed as productive and are in high demand; traditional vocational programs--the trades--have lost their once prominent position and are faltering both in acquiring resources and in demand. College structural change is continual, with re-structuring as a consequence of the establishment of baccalaureate degree programs, their growth in student numbers with accompanying human resource growth and governance changes that followed their establishment.

While the state, the provincial government, is particularly directive toward the college, both in curtailing public expenditures and in advancing social and economic policy, East Shoreline College responds neither by adhering literally or completely to government policy nor by challenging policy. Instead, college members endeavor to respond to policies and government actions as stimulation to act according to college self-interest, or college traditional patterns of behavior. With public sector funding constraints, the college increases its efforts to secure alternate funding sources, through both public government contracts and through the private sector. With government incentives to develop programs that are workplace and marketplace relevant, the college responds by combining curriculum from a declining or static program area--vocational--with academic degree programs, resulting in applied degrees.

The college is more international in its orientation than global. That is, it seeks out international connections, associations, and partnerships among private and public consumers for its products, doing so largely for the acquisition of revenues and as well to provide faculty and students with international education, training, and professional development experiences. Furthermore, it attracts a substantial number of foreign, particularly Asian, students to its campus (e.g., over 300 in postsecondary programs).

It is limited globally to the extent that it is an educational institution within a provincial system of postsecondary education and thus is both protected and constrained by government. It is also limited globally because of much of its curriculum and educational policies, such as a predominantly U.S./Canadian approach to education and training, and lack of globally or internationally salient curriculum requirements in language acquisition, in computer literacy, in cultural studies, or in ethics. The college may be influenced fiscally because of a downturn in the Asian economy as it was in the Spring of 1998 but not so severely that it has to change its mission or its structures because of global forces.

Organizational Adaptation

Table 2.2.

Approaches	Manifestation
Population Ecology:	The provincial government serves as an environmental force affecting the college's survival directing colleges through a provincial strategic plan, through a provincial collective bargaining structure, through alterations to governance, through requirements for greater productivity and attention to workforce training; growth in student numbers and local demand for programs and training (e.g., baccalaureate degree program demand added over a 1000 full time equivalency students to the college); federal and provincial funding alterations have led to no real growth in government funding over a sustained period in the 1990s
Life Cycles:	College structures open to change; changing personnel: retirements of several administrators in late 1990s and resignation of Vice -president in early 1990s
Strategic Choice:	Responses to growth; responses to funding shortfalls: increase entrepreneurial activities by seeking out more donations, more contracts, more international students, including the establishment of a private international secondary school; institutional adjustments to respond to the local and international marketplace: change educational programs to suit marketplace (e.g., Forestry Technology) and to cater to growing demands for baccalaureate degrees; role of college leader: college president externally active both locally and internationally, pursuing revenues; responses to new governance structures: faculty took major role in development and in leadership
Symbolic Action:	Behaviors reflect the alteration of purpose and identity: alteration to a baccalaureate degree institution, with accompanying university-like behaviors such as emphasis upon scholarship and structures such as model of professional

	bureaucracy; university status
Accidentalism:	Internal friction between degree program faculty and vocational faculty, largely as a consequence of status and resource differentials; nonetheless, the college president is a champion of vocational education and was formerly a vocational instructor and dean; proximity of former and present political officials, including a former faculty member who is a provincial cabinet member and another community member who was another prominent cabinet member: appears to have helped the college with its strategies as well as with its facilities

Although numerous external factors have contributed to the actions of East Shoreline College, the college has adapted to its environment largely through institutionally generated strategies (see Table 2.2.). The provincial government especially, growing local populations, and international economies have contributed to organizational actions. But, these have acted more as stimuli for the college leadership, in concert with other organizational members, to respond and react to external forces by pursuing new program areas for baccalaureate degrees (e.g., Liberal Studies), expanding existing programs (e.g., Nursing), adding workforce training programs (e.g., Forestry Technology), increasing an already active international program and contract services area, and by marketing the college both locally and internationally. Government funding constraints have confronted the college with choices about growth or reduction: the college has chosen growth. Government legislative actions pertaining to governance have confronted the college with choices about employee participation in decision-making or faculty dominated committee structures for governing and managing the institution: the college chose the faculty dominated committee structure, suggesting a movement of the institution toward a professional bureaucracy (Mintzberg, 1979), where managerial authority is limited and professional authority--the power of expertise--is emphasized. This emergent professional bureaucracy results from the rise of the baccalaureate degree programs as the dominant curricular area of the institution, where growth in students is considerable and where new institutional hirings are directed to the addition of faculty expertise to Arts and Sciences degree programs as well as career programs such as Nursing, Education, and Social Work.

Academic strategies invariably have a symbolic intent. In the case of East Shoreline College, academic strategies of formalizing and strengthening committee structures, negotiating workload changes to recognize scholarship as a requisite for baccalaureate instruction, and the pursuit and acquisition of Canadian university status alter the identity of the institution, changing its power structures, its work and its purposes. The institution has altered not only legally from a two-year college to a four-year college but also in practice, with academic work taking precedence over other forms of work. Moreover, the institution has extended its mission to include both the traditional mission of the community college and the mission of a four-year college.

Accidentalism. There was friction between degree program faculty and vocational faculty, largely as a consequence of status and resource differentials. This friction, while acknowledged by college managers, was in part a consequence of increasing competition among faculty groups for both resources and institutional power. Noted also was that the college president was a champion of vocational education and was formerly a vocational instructor and dean. Yet, in spite of this, the vocational area diminished in both resources and influence. The proximity of former and present political officials, including a former faculty member who is a provincial cabinet member and another community member who was another prominent cabinet member appears to have helped the college with its strategies as well as with its facilities. The college continues to grow in enrollments, in facilities, and fiscally in spite of declining government funding for operations and decreasing productivity in vocational programs.

Table 2.3.

Strategy

Description	Intended Outcomes
Enlarge academic program area by developing and establishing baccalaureate degree programs	Accommodate more students; satisfy internal and external demands for degree programs; achieve university status
Cope with growth and government funding inadequacies by increasing contract training and international student revenues	Generate revenues to support growth in education and training areas of college
Promote college services and programs locally and internationally	Respond to local demand; attract international students for revenue
Emphasize committee structure for decision-making	Model university behaviors to achieve university status; shift balance of internal influence away from administrators and toward faculty; cope with new issues arising from the establishment of baccalaureate programs (e.g., research ethics, greater expertise for decision-making)
Emphasize role of president as fund raiser and college program and service promoter	Raise money; improve profile of the institution locally and internationally
Accommodate growth through major building projects	Provide space especially for new degree programs and for vocational programs
Increase electronic technology use and purchase	Increase productivity; experiment with alternate

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of equipment for both administrative work and instruction	delivery systems (e.g., distance education); serve more students; upgrade faculty skills; improve administrative operations
Emphasize international activities and services	Gain revenues; develop opportunities for faculty and students for professional and educational growth
Change structures, including department and unit alignments	Adapt to fiscal conditions; seek opportunities to expand, to acquire resources, to achieve greater efficiencies; respond to changing personnel needs; adapt to administrative personnel retirements and resignations

Strategy at East Shoreline College is a continual response to changing external conditions, including government policy, government funding behaviors, the local demands for education and training, and to a lesser extent to changing global economies (see Table 2.3.). But strategy also includes responding to internal demands for change, most particularly and recently for alteration of college purposes and of identity to a university. Fiscal behaviors are predominant, especially in the latter half of the 1990s, as college members deliberate over actions dependent upon funding and resources. The college management actively pursues funding sources outside of the traditional government operating grants, and the president of the college devotes considerable time and energy to fund raising and to the acquisition of international contracts in concert with other college officials. Strategy is not solely about survival, but is motivated by the desire to grow and to change, that is adapt to external requirements such as changing student and workplace needs.

A number of strategies are at work at East Shoreline College, some complementary, some potentially in conflict with each other. Furthermore, some strategies are overshadowed by others. Overall, there is a preponderance of actions directed toward specific strategies, and organizational members express both a condition of fatigue over their numerous activities and confusion about institutional direction. While academic faculty, and particularly those academic faculty in baccalaureate degree programs, work toward the development of a more prominent academic institution, with increased professional authority and a university culture, vocational and collegiate or non-degree program faculty work toward program and job survival. Educational services to students at the lower end of the educational hierarchy are jeopardized by the increasing emphasis on higher learning, that is baccalaureate degree programs. Administrative leadership strategies involve actions directed to growth, productivity, and labor-management stability. These strategies translate into administrative work in securing resources, in managing budgets with both art as well

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as craft and in intense political lobbying, internally with organizational members and externally with government officials.

But in these strategies and their attendant actions, there is little evident behavior directed to student needs. While students may benefit from the by-products of these strategies, such as improved facilities or the preservation of courses and programs, they are not the object of these strategies. This omission may be a consequence of the changing student body over the 1990s--both in growth and in student characteristics, for example the addition of an international secondary school to the campus brings teenage students from Asian countries whose native language is not English and whose socio-economic background does not match that of local 18-24 year old students, which is considerably lower.

The comprehensive nature of the college curriculum, from college preparation to trades training to baccalaureate degrees, means that the student body is diverse in interests and abilities, and thus strategies directed toward student interests and needs must be diffuse. This suggests that useful strategies for students may occur at the unit or program level, not at the institutional level. Thus, the Forestry Technology program alters curriculum and instruction to adapt to a changing workplace and therefore increases student opportunity for employability. The Nursing program dramatically changes its curriculum so that graduates can adapt to the changing health care environment of the province. These unit or program strategies are not always compatible or consistent with larger institutional strategies, but because the college operates as a collection of relatively autonomous work areas, the inconsistencies are not regarded as problems.

The overall institutional strategy of environmental responsiveness through growth likely binds organizational members and units to the institution, indicating that strategies are grounded in organizational beliefs and aspirations, at whatever level.

Mission and Structure

Table 2.4.: Mission

Mission Alteration	Determinants
Broadening of mission to include baccalaureate degree programs	Provincial government legislation; organizational members' lobbying and developmental work; local demand
Professional bureaucracy	University status

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Contraction of vocational trades programs	Decreased demand; changing workplace requirements
Increase in international outlook	Increased opportunities for revenues, for student placements, for faculty development
More provincially managed: more centralized in managerial decisions; follows provincial goals	Establishment of provincial collective bargaining structure; more provincial government direction through policy and funding; provincial government strategic plan
Privatization: establish an international secondary school	Revenue needs to support college growth
Marketplace orientation	Respond to private and public sector demands; increase revenues; provincial government strategic plan

Table 2.5.: Structures

Changed or changing structures	Determinants
Governance: board composition change; addition of educational council to ensure shared governance	Provincial government legislation as well as provincial faculty union influence with government
Addition of new programs, especially baccalaureate degree programs	Provincial government policy and legislation to enable college to offer baccalaureate degrees
Private international secondary school	International connections; declining government operating grants
Committees expanded, enlarged, with increased faculty influence upon institutional decisions	Conform to status as university
Administrative re-organizations	Cope with fiscal limitations; adjust to new university status; respond to resignations and retirements of administrators
Collective bargaining for faculty: now provincial structure	Multi-party agreement, sponsored by government, to establish a provincial collective bargaining structure for faculty and institutions; influence of both provincial faculty union and provincial college and institutes employers group
Delivery of instruction: distance education, especially on-line delivery	Technological advances, efforts to increase productivity because of budget limits
Internal structure in flux	Growth, changing external demands, development of university status

Organizational members have various yet consistent perceptions of the state of the college's mission. Several indicate that the mission is not changing; others modify this perception and suggest that the mission is "not consciously changing"; another faculty member says that the mission is changing by default, and others note that the mission is changing slowly in spite of the intentions of organizational members. While it is clear from the evidence that the mission of the college is changing dramatically (see Table 2.4.), it is also clear that organizational members want to preserve the best of the past and deny the extent of change that is occurring. Growth itself drives mission change: the college is a larger institution in the late 1990s than it was in the 1980s, and the relatively moderate-size organization has become a large organization with thousands of students, hundreds of employees and four campuses spread out over

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a number of communities. Its expenditures now exceed $50 million (Canadian), annually, compared to just over $32 million at the close of the 80s. But mission has altered more because of curricular focus than because of growth. Changing structures both support and follow from a changing mission (see Table 2.5.).

The establishment of baccalaureate degree programs, coupled with alterations to governance whereby faculty involvement in institutional decision-making increased, marked the entry to institutional transformation from a two-year postsecondary training and education institution to a *de facto* university. Mission has expanded to include baccalaureate education, including professional education in the fields of social work, nursing, business, and education, among others. The transfer function, long a tradition of the U. S. and Canadian community college, is no longer a major function of East Shoreline College, because students no longer need to transfer to attain further education and a baccalaureate degree. While ESC has maintained its community college role, it has added a university role.

Moreover, in an effort to sustain its various roles and its activities, including its growth, ESC has expanded its mission in another direction--toward the secondary school mandate of preparing school children for college. ESC established an international secondary school, not only expanding its institutional functions but also altering its educational role as a public institution to include a private institution as well. This action is consistent with the college's historical behaviors as an entrepreneurial institution, but in overtly privatizing education in an institutional setting and on-campus, the college demonstrates a more marked shift to a mission responsive to a more corporate agenda--educating economic elites. Private school students from Asian countries while providing revenues through their tuition fees to support public education are also supported by a public infrastructure and the benefits of a public system, including all of the organizational features of a public college such as a highly educated faculty, a legitimated curriculum, and the service, much of it voluntary, of internal and external community members on committees and on the governing board of the college.

A palpable manifestation of this mission change is the presence of dozens of Japanese students (private, fee payers), ages 15-18 on campus. Their presence is obvious, not because of their Asian appearance but because of their behaviors--adolescent--and their dress which is expensive, trendy, and not consistent with the dress of other students. They give a secondary school atmosphere to the cafeteria and to the library, and instructors report that they are not dedicated to their studies. Thus, the price of privatization for the purposes of resource acquisition is a structure at odds with the new university structure, where scholarship and higher learning take precedence over adolescent development and developmental education.

Another influence upon mission is the increasing influence of government not just on fiscal conditions and behaviors within the college but upon curriculum. Few condemn the government for adding baccalaureate degree programs but most acknowledge the role of government in pushing the college through policy and through funding incentives and disincentives toward workplace training, and several organizational members decry this alteration. Government policy favors applied skills suitable and appropriate to the marketplace, particularly the private sector. College curriculum is thus developed and judged on workplace utility. This emphasis is at odds with traditional understandings of liberal education, and there are points of friction between academic faculty who promote learning as knowledge acquisition and other faculty and administrators, as well as students and support staff and board members, who press for applied knowledge or practicability of learning. Even though mission has altered as a consequence of the early development of baccalaureate degree programs, there is pressure upon these programs to provide more workplace skills for graduates.

Conclusion

East Shoreline College has become a university, perhaps a hybrid type, but a university nonetheless. The college maintains its community college mission and expands that to include not only baccalaureate degree curricula but university values and behaviors, such as professional authority and formalizing the role of scholarly research. ESC is responsive externally, both locally, provincially, and internationally, this latter response driven by revenue generation. Its global emphasis and involvement is predominantly an economic condition.

The provincial government and its responsible education government office--the Ministry--is the major external influencer of college behaviors and actions. Government policies and legislation have contributed to significant organizational change in the 1990s, including the addition of baccalaureate degree programs, the addition of organizational employees and students to the governing board membership, the re-shaping of institutional governance so that organizational members share responsibility for the institution with the governing board. These have contributed to the college's alteration to a professional bureaucracy where faculty professional authority has prevailed and where baccalaureate degrees are seen to drive institutional decision-making. But the provincial government has also influenced the college through its funding behaviors and its labor-relations policies: in constraining government allocations so that they do not keep pace with institutional growth and in sponsoring a provincial structure for collective bargaining between faculty and colleges.

The college has shifted its practices and its purposes in response to external forces including the provincial government. Other forces, however, are at play, such as the changing workplace and the changing nature of work. As the province is historically a resource based, extractive economy, the decline of both the forest and fishing industries has meant severe dislocation for workers and declining profits for investors and declining revenues for the government. The trades that either supported these industries or developed with them declined as well, and thus trades training in these areas faltered. Furthermore, the increasing emphasis in the workplace of the 1990s on computer skills, on electronic communication, and on the manipulation of data has influenced postsecondary education. New skills not old knowledge are preferred, and thus ESC responded and continues to respond to changing workplaces and work.

There are several tensions within ESC over college direction, over the allocation of resources, and over institutional identity which includes how organizational members understand their institution and their work within the institution. There is the historical tension between academic and vocational program areas, accentuated with the arrival of baccalaureate degree programs. There is, since that arrival, a tension between those in the occupationally-related baccalaureate degree programs and those in the more academically-oriented programs. These are tensions about both the allocation of resources and the purpose of the institution--between training for the marketplace and educating thinkers. There is an external-internal tension between the college and the provincial government over government influence and control and institutional autonomy. The college leadership sees itself as at-odds with the views and actions of government. For example, a college board decision to establish a private college under the auspices of ESC was "leaked" to government officials and subsequently re-considered and rescinded by the board because, it was reported by college officials, the government would not tolerate such an action. There is also resentment toward government among college members--faculty and administrators--over the government's support of provincial salary increases for a large group of faculty but no funding allocation increase from government to pay for the increase, one ultimately borne by individual colleges.

These forces, their influences, and East Shoreline College's responses have re-defined the concept of a community college. While in the 1990s, ESC has not eliminated its mission of the 1980s, it has added to and expanded that mission. The two-year postsecondary institution that provides training and education for its community has become a university, providing educational services, training, secondary and post-secondary credentials, as well as baccalaureate degrees, to its local and provincial communities as well as internationally. The actions of East Shoreline College demonstrate how a community college can also provide services formerly provided only by universities and can add structures and processes to accommodate an expanded mission.

City South Community College

City South Community College (CSCC) is a middle to small size institution (approximately 5600 students) located in a major population center in the Northwest U.S. CSCC is part of a three college district, and is the smallest and most recently established of the three colleges. CSCC has an historical reputation as a vocational college, with curricular emphasis upon vocational programs and ties to the industrial base of the region. But changes in workplace needs as well as available jobs for blue collar workers have meant that enrollments in vocational programs have faltered. Furthermore, state financing of postsecondary education has neither kept pace with growth nor supported the maintenance of existing quality. In the case of CSCC, state appropriations fell over 7% in 1994/95 from 1993/94 levels, and a further 11% in 1995/96. In 1995, the president informed the college community that the institution would be re-structured to deal with declining resources as well as to position the college for coping with expected external demands and changes to student needs, adapting the institution to a "highly competitive global economy". The re-structuring proved to be a dramatic action both in the changes brought about organizationally and for its effects upon college members, many of whom appeared not to understand fully either what was occurring or why. The re-structuring altered the college's structure, establishing administrative teams instead of divisions or departments, deleted positions especially support staff positions, and reduced expenditures. In 1995/96, expenditures dropped by over 5.5% from the previous year.

The 1990s were a period of considerable external flux for the college. The local population shifted in both socio-economic status and in ethnic make-up as increasing numbers of new immigrants came to reside in the community as well as immigrants from countries not traditionally present in the region. The state economy went through a bust to boom cycle, including bust to boom for the aircraft industry, increasingly rapid growth in the computer software industry, and declines in the resource extraction industries--mainly fishing and forestry. At the dawn of the decade, there was new senior management leadership for the district office and the entire system; before the close of the decade there was another change in leadership at the district office.

In other areas, particularly the workplace, influencers in business and industry promoted change, certainly to keep up to global competition. Thus automation increased and electronic technologies were more fully integrated into both production and administrative work. Additional skill requirements placed stress on educational institutions to keep up with business and industry demands, and higher skill levels--such as those in engineering technologies, in professions such as health sciences, and in business itself--were needed and sought through university degree programs.

As a college with a traditional vocational emphasis, with little student population and minimal academic program offerings, CSCC found itself out of step with either business and industry demands or public demands for higher learning and advanced university credentials. Demand continued for basic education, and the arrival of new immigrant populations strengthened demand for English as a Second Language programs--these grew over 60% from 1989 to 1996, approximately 10%/year compared to a decline of vocational program enrollments of 5%/year, a 30% overall decline in 6 years.

This situation was not helped by both legislative attitudes toward education and alterations to funding behaviors at the state level. Not only did funding emphasize productivity, specifically in increasing student numbers, but also tuition revenues were added to the funding formula with colleges permitted to retain tuition revenues. The problem for some state colleges, including CSCC, however, was that some student categories such as English as a Second Language students did not generate as much revenue in tuition as say for example academic program students.

College context, then, is significant to the extent that the college's connections to its external environment, to its local community, to the district office, to the state, both its legislators and its economy, and to the business and industrial community bear heavily upon college operations, from programming to recruitment of students to sources of revenue and governance and management. The college's positioning within its context is one of high dependency.

Globalization

Table 3.1.

Themes	Manifestations
Internationalization: increasing emphasis upon multi-culturalism and diversity, overshadows international; serving immigrant, non-native speaking students, including international students; large immigrant and refugee community population; relatively little growth in international students	Addition of multi-cultural course requirement for Associate's degree (1994); added cultural course for degree (1996); task force on diversity and diversity plan (1996 and 1997), affecting student services and employee hiring; revenue generation from international students; added international trade course 1994, dropped 1996; diverse student body; international student numbers in 1989 are 148, in 1996, 224, with drop in 1997/98 as a consequence of Asian economic downturn
Workforce Training: changing workplace needs and demands; dependent upon economy and upon federal and state government financial support; traditional background as vocational institution; additional programs to meet perceived needs; strives to develop and offer industry and business specific programs; contract training both publicly and privately supported	Decline in enrollments in specific programs (e.g., aviation dropped from 315 FTE in 1989 to 114 FTE in 1996); program completers in all vocational programs went from 376 in 1989 to 288 in 1994, with job placement rates dropping from 87% of graduates to 73% of graduates; increasing emphasis upon short-term training enlarged because of Welfare-to-Work (state) which requires short term training; 1994 added new programs such as industrial maintenance mechanic, LAN service technician; revenues for contract training in 1994/95 (highest over 10 year period) was over $6.5 million, dropping to $6 million in 1995/96
Electronic Technology: increased use and greater integration into bureaucracy; distance delivery in formative stages, mainly telecourses, but internet slowly integrated into instruction, with plans to increase 5 fold in a year; faculty view distance education as threat, especially a district office threat; increased use of information technologies for administrative and clerical work	District policy about use of electronic technology and notice that employer may monitor use; use of voice-mail to improve customer service and efficiency; 20 classes of distance education, with 50 FTE students; little development in distance education because of limited resources; district staff make decisions about distance education that affect curriculum on campus; influence of Western Governor's University; expansion of computer lab numbers from 4 to 9; alterations to collective agreement in 1994 formalize distance education as a category different from traditional instruction; use of touch-tone registration, grading on-line, degree audits electronically for prerequisites, use of email for advising in student services
Labor Alterations: Relationships between college and employees altered as a result of re-structuring, leadership changes, contractual	1991 change to definition of a full-time faculty member from 66% full-time work to 100% full-time work; 1994 greater incentives for retirement

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changes and diminishing program demand	and greater managerial control over work through post-tenure evaluations; re-structuring of 1995 diminished staff positions, increased workload of faculty and administrators, re-configured college structure and working relationships and effectively de-professionalized faculty by eradicating traditional faculty units--departments; changing leadership--3 different presidents in 3 years--altered working relationships and faculty involvement in institutional decision-making, increasing faculty work on committees; layoff of 5 faculty in 1994 as a consequence of dropping student demand; new demands upon faculty work, such as state mandated performance indicators
Productivity and Efficiency: state legislative focus; use of electronic technologies, both informational and educational, to achieve efficiencies; justification for 1995 re-structuring; various strategies and actions to achieve increased efficiency and push for greater productivity (but not too many efforts here)	Presidents' efforts to "streamline" college operations: first through re-structuring and then through modifications to governance; introduction of performance indicators state-wide for colleges--measurable outcomes (e.g., wages of graduates, transfer rate, efficiency in course-taking patterns); approach delivery of instruction as efficiency issue; use of email and computers results in need for fewer secretaries; reduction of workforce in 1995; decreased expenditures in 1995/96 over previous year by 5.5%, yet raised instructional costs by 17.5%; efforts to increase FTE student enrollments
Public sector funding constraints: state appropriations diminish, but state permits colleges to keep tuition; funding also dependent upon enrollment rises; state economy, however, is going through a boom cycle in late 1990s	College share of state appropriations diminish 1993/94 to 1995/96: -28.5% from 1993/94 to 1995/96; drop in student enrollments penalizes college; program funding not equal; not all program students pay full tuition; state sets tuition fees; college funded at lesser rate for some workforce training programs; welfare reform has impacted college negatively: short term training emphasized at expense of two year programs
Restructuring: major effort in 1995 to address two issues: fiscal and programmatic; some changes in district role and in greater centralization of services	1995 effort addresses budgetary shortfalls and results in elimination of positions, especially support staff; 1995 effort was intended to help college respond better to changing workplace needs; college personnel continue to be baffled by the rationale for the restructuring, and see most of the outcomes as negative; altered work relations among workers and between workers and administrators; de-professionalized faculty by organizing them into "teams"; recent actions marginally address negative outcomes of 1995 action; district office endeavors to centralize some services (e.g., business) and to establish a more unified image for all three district colleges; de-stabilization through changing personnel (e.g., change of presidents)
State intervention: state influence is largely fiscal, and drives programs through enrollment based funding and operations through the use of performance indicators; perception of negative views of legislators toward education; more state direction; influence of state board for community and technical colleges	New state rules on length of training for targeted groups--undermines two year programs; welfare-to-work impact increases (e.g., student must work and thus interrupt studies); performance indicators for assessment of institution and ultimately for funding; mandate for on-line instruction

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Private sector interaction: major state industry influences even drives programming and program enrollments, as well as college strategies; private contracts for workplace training important funding base; changing workplace needs; moving closer to marketplace which is viewed as college community	Boom and bust economy; employment availability in some sectors jeopardize programs because of enrollment declines; college largely preoccupied with one major employer and potential for job training and revenues; past strength of college-- connections to business and industry-- declined: now reconnecting; increasing ties to computer software industry; responding to employer demands for skills and decision-making
Partnerships: Connections to business and industry to gain revenues and for employment of program students; connections to other educational institutions, particularly high school; little sense of community social or cultural connections	Main energies go to relationships and associations with major industries of aircraft and computer software; partnership with local schools and efforts to attract more high school graduates to college
External competition: recent arrival of University of Phoenix; other adjacent community and technical colleges; state university; other state community colleges; other providers of distance education, such as Western Governor's University; some areas of competition for three district colleges	Competition for students with University of Phoenix and modeling of their practices ("like McDonald's"); competition for students with adjacent colleges, both vocational students with adjacent technical college and academic students with community colleges; competition within state among community colleges for funding; prominent image of nearby state university and its attraction for baccalaureate degree students; also public view of university lessens value of community college; three district colleges compete internally for funding from district and for status and image within the district
Homogenization: Efforts to unify and standardize by district office; state legislative influence	Common collective agreement; centralized services; district initiatives and policies, such as distance education and information technology usage; performance indicators from state
Commodification: Strategies to develop programs as products for consumption; re-structuring of 1995 began drive to become of service institution	Contract training for local business needs to be marketed and presented for consumer; use of distance education, on-line instruction, altering delivery approaches and durations to serve customers needs and to compete with other providers (e.g., University of Phoenix)

Globalization for City South Community College is a complex phenomenon, colored by the global connectivity of two state and local industries--aircraft and computer software. The college's history as a vocational institution, "Paycheck College" where students enroll in programs, finish and obtain jobs with satisfying remuneration, is like a microcosm of the global economy's affects upon America. Blue collar, trade-oriented jobs are declining both through automation and out-sourcing (i.e., to other countries). The call for American competitiveness is not to address the decline in industrial manufacturing but to stimulate training in the high technology fields, in the professions, and in business. CSCC is caught in a "time warp" where old, successful programs have lost enrollments because of structural changes in the political economy, yet the college's image and its community demographics limit its

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movement toward evolving as an advanced educational institution.

The college is also situated within a community that has not only a large immigrant population but also a changing immigrant population as the refugees--the 1970's "boat people"--give way in the 1980s to the Chinese from Hong Kong and these groups are added to by Eastern Europeans (e.g., Russians). Additionally, as the urban center population moves outward, the local community of CSCC is replaced by a slightly more affluent population, and local blue collar families move further away from CSCC, a condition arising from rising housing prices in the metropolitan area.

Increased government oversight and accompanying decreases in state appropriations have placed other stresses upon the institution as its enrollments in traditional vocational programs decline and enrollments in academic and other occupational programs do not rise enough to offset declines. Thus, emphasis upon increasing productivity, on competition with other institutions, and on bureaucratic procedures to conform to state demands (e.g., performance indicators, such as student enrollments and space utilization) along with decreasing revenues have pushed the college to the category of marginality in the "winners and losers" dichotomy of the global economy.

Ironically, while highly influenced by global forces, the college's connections to intermediary organizations and systems have impeded, even directed, college responsiveness. The college is reliant upon the performance of the local aircraft industry internationally: too much economic activity from this sector, however, means that there is employment and no need for pre-employment training; too little economic activity and the need for trained personnel diminishes. The industry demands specific training outcomes; the college fits the curricula to the industry but program graduates are not hired in the field. For example, from 1990-1994 fewer than 25% of program graduates in Aircraft maintenance were hired (out of a total of 181 program graduates) in their program field, according to college records.

Emphasis upon productivity and efficiency, especially in the face of declining revenues, increasing accountability from government, decreasing program demand, and changing workplace requirements have had several effects of substance upon the college. The re-structuring effort of 1995 was a response to what the president viewed as global forces of change impacting the college. This effort led to outcomes not unlike those experienced within the larger corporate area of U.S. business and industry--downsizing and layoffs, greater loss of revenues, mission alteration--and greater dependency upon resource providers as well as an increased focus upon the private sector marketplace. While the college president may have acted to save the college from collapse, he did not adapt the institution to a new global economy. There was essentially no strategy, no replacing of content to what was altered and jettisoned, and no new programs to take the place of the deteriorating vocational programs.

The district office acted to increase efficiencies on campus and to develop a more salable image to the community for the three district colleges as a whole. Thus, the district office acted according to global patterns--centralize control, information, and decision mechanisms and de-centralize production. The district claims to "subsidize" City South Community College, but it also may be responsible for influencing its management, by selecting and influencing its chief executive officers, and by moving the college away from its local community to serve district interests and needs. Again, this behavior of district personnel may indeed have saved CSCC from collapse and from further erosion in state funding.

The state, especially through its funding behaviors, has treated CSCC as a branch plant operation, much like large corporations behave toward foreign production sites. The state establishes funding policies, and uses targeted funding for an agenda not favorable to colleges or students, sets tuition fees, uses its agency to demand specific forms of accountability, and controls collective bargaining by its state salary allocations. Educational policies that might benefit students, such as university transfer articulation policies that facilitate student mobility or support for excellence of student performance, are either non-existent or below the level of institutional consciousness as neither organizational members nor institutional documents refer to state policy that has educational salience. Finally, on the far negative side of state influence is the state's Welfare-to-Work program which from the perspective of the college is a regressive action that moves students out of the classroom and onto the streets, still inadequately prepared, looking for work, even below poverty level wage work. This policy is contributes to the loss of those programs that could help students attain careers and occupations rather than temporary or unstable jobs in a global economy. The program encourages short term training and thus detracts from the more educationally and long-term employment orientation of a two-year Associate degree programs. At CSCC, between 500-600 full time equivalency students are categorized as Welfare-to-Work, close to 20% of the college's total student body.

Organizational Adaptation

Table 3.2.

Approaches	Manifestations
Population Ecology	Local population alters, with higher income people driving lower income people out; new immigrant population from Eastern Europe, working class orientation; public transportation problematical--difficult to get to college; local economy where there are abundant job opportunities and thus fewer students; changing economy with more automation and fewer vocational opportunities for graduates; decline in traditional student age population of 20-25 year olds, affects vocational programs; community identity as immigrant, blue collar, and not attractive to international students or those seeking advanced degrees; influence of external organizations and bodies, particularly district office, aircraft industry, and state legislators (e.g., district efforts to centralize by unifying three colleges)
Life Cycles	College development mirrors four stages of organizational life cycles: college formation with vocational mission; elaboration of structure, with increasing contract training, under direction of long term president; maturity stage where there is job shift, restricted funding for postsecondary education, and enrollment declines; final stage where there is major change--re-structuring of 1995--so that college can return to an earlier stage of development; presently reviewing mission and undergoing identity change, and beginning replacement of administrators; college referred to as "a family" going through stages of life,' with aging personnel; managerial changes--3 presidents in three years--but difficulties with adjustment to altering styles, from "autocratic" to "democratic"
Strategic Choice	Each president is associated with a dominant strategy: president of 1995 known for his vocational emphasis and his re-structuring action to rescue the college; 1996/97 president sought to bring "shared, participatory governance", increased consultation, and "greater attention to diversity"; 1997 president seeks to "increase college's connection to community"; to increase use of electronic technologies and to use new delivery strategies to attract more students (e.g., open entry; open exit); efforts to attract more high school students and sustain a two-year transfer program
Symbolic Action	College history, image, and reputation: immigrants' college, vocational institution

Accidentalism	Outcomes and misunderstandings of 1995 re-structuring: led to layoffs without increased productivity as enrollments continued to decline; employees uncertain of purpose and others bitter about layoffs; changing presidential and district leadership

City South Community College is buffeted by numerous external environmental forces, encumbered by its organizational history, and continually proposing and working on strategies to respond to externally influenced change. Its geographical location, the demographic characteristics of its location population, and the combination of unskilled employment opportunities and the college's historical emphasis upon vocational programming have shaped college actions and outcomes over the past decade. To some extent, the college is a prisoner of its basic environment, its large immigrant and working class population and its industrial base, as well as its history and continuing behaviors as a vocationally oriented institution.

The college is affected as well by its organizational development and the characteristics of its organizational members, many of whom are long term employees. While its faculty and administrators have remained relatively stable over the decade, its senior leadership--both the college presidents and the district leaders--has altered and is undergoing further change. The college has in the 1990s experienced serious organizational decline and at the end of the 1990s is adjusting to mission alteration and programming changes, with new presidential leadership.

Innumerable strategies have emerged and continue to be developed in order to cope with external forces of change as well as with college generated strategies in response to these forces. The 1995 re-structuring action stands out, not only for its radical approach to both external change and internal fiscal decline but also for its influence upon the future. While this strategy was a deliberate one, and rationalized in several documents written by the president to college members, present understandings of the re-structuring reflect denial of the president's justifications and an inability to repair dysfunctional outcomes or reverse the structural changes imposed by the act of re-structuring. Efforts from subsequent presidents have been directed by both presidents to reform the governance process of the college, by one president to increase diversity in college hirings, by the other president to stop the decline in enrollments, and by both to solve fiscal problems that the re-structuring action was intended to remedy. Recent strategies of the college have involved ways to deal with state imposed performance indicators and a planning process to focus upon college

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directions and put into action various intentions. Continued and significant emphasis is placed upon diversity and multi-culturalism, largely as a response to the student body and the local community.

The college is without a marketable image largely because of its past emphasis upon vocational programming, an area that no longer has salience. Its historical development has not included the maintenance of an academic culture, or even the substitution of another strong culture aside from job training. Recent attempts to strengthen the student services area placed greater emphasis upon students' needs, but largely viewed students as customers, not necessarily as learners.

Accidentalism. In 1995, the president of the college, soon to move from his role as president to a role as Vice-Chancellor at the district office, initiated a massive re-structuring of the college. Outcomes of the 1995 re-structuring led to layoffs without increased productivity as enrollments continued to decline, as well as to misunderstanding about purpose on the part of organizational members. The 1995 re-structuring action stands out, not only for its radical approach to both external change and internal fiscal decline but also for its influence upon the future. While this strategy was a deliberate one, and rationalized in several documents written by the president to college members, present understandings of the re-structuring reflect denial of the president's justifications and an inability to repair dysfunctional outcomes or reverse the structural changes imposed by the act of re-structuring. In 1997 and 1998, college employees were uncertain of the purpose of the 1995 re-structuring; several employees remained bitter about layoffs. Somewhat in line with the act of 1995, the district chancellor replaced the president in 1996, with a president from another of the district's colleges. By 1997, this second president was replaced, returning to his former college, by another senior administrator from this same college, changing presidential leadership once again. Thus, in the period of three years, City South Community College had three presidents. This turn-over of chief executive officers and the apparent unilateral action of the chancellor point to a lack of leadership stability or continuity at City South Community College, a condition where there is potential for unplanned and unmanaged organizational change.

Strategy

Table 3.3.

Description	Intended Outcomes
1995 re-structuring action of president which eliminated staff positions, changed reporting relationships, re-organized administration, with team concept of management, changed office locations, and increased emphasis upon computer and information technology	Achieve greater efficiencies, cope with budgetary shortfalls, declining enrollments, and changing workplace requirements; alter organizational purposes to student-centered approach, reduce staff, increase productivity
1996 presidential emphasis upon participatory management and shared governance	Collective decision-making; team-work; increased emphasis upon diversity and international efforts
1997 president emphasis upon increasing enrollment, connecting more with business community, and increasing use of electronic technology	Improve productivity; improve college responsiveness to community needs; survival
Alter approaches to delivery of instruction to include more flexible programming, more distance education and on-line instruction; greater connections to high schools; provision of complete two year transfer programs	Increase enrollments; compete with other institutions (e.g., University of Phoenix)
Establishment of institutional task force to expand mission and stimulate programmatic change	Improve institutional effectiveness, drive budget; initiate program review and development; end enrollment decline
Diversity plan, to meet state board mandate and to serve students and local community	Increase hiring of people of color; increase sensitivity among groups on campus

Strategies are initiated in response to decreasing enrollments or decreasing demand for educational services and to cope with budgetary shortfalls and reduced state funding. The college, faced with enrollment declines, especially in vocational programs, and undergoing fiscal stress not only as a result of enrollment declines but also because of state-wide pressures for accountability and funding alterations, while maintaining its other revenues, sought to reduce costs. Contracts for training remained relatively stable during the mid 1990s, but there was no growth in this area to sustain the college's credit offerings. Thus, the re-structuring of 1995 did reduce college expenditures through the elimination of positions and through layoffs. This strategy did prevent fiscal collapse, but it did not prove to have a salient effect upon either morale or on educational services. By 1998, neither the college fiscal position nor the enrollment situation had improved. The overall strategy of the early 1990s and the prior decade to market the college as a vocational institution and to organize and operate the college as a trade school was to dominate all other efforts to adapt the college to its environment.

Post-1995 strategies included efforts to unify institutional actions, to gain the

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confidence and improve the morale of college members, to focus upon student needs, particularly in the areas of acculturation and sensitivity to individual and group differences. Other strategies involved altering programming and delivery to meet changing community needs, and thus increase enrollments. These several strategies were largely driven by two presidents, with support from the instructional vice-president. But they were either not well-understood or not fully embraced by other organizational members, particularly faculty.

College strategies, however, must be viewed in light of the college's relationships with the college district office and with other colleges within the district, in as much as district and district-wide strategies drive organizational behaviors, at least formal behaviors. These include collective bargaining--a district-wide process--district policy behaviors, district control of funding, and district initiatives in curriculum and instruction. While organizational behaviors and actions at City South Community College are influenced by district strategies and actions, few organizational members at CSCC acknowledge this influence, although some members suggest, in the words of one faculty member, that the district is "nothing but trouble". Nonetheless, there are no explicit or articulated strategies to cope with or shape district strategies.

Mission and Structure

Table 3.4.: Mission

Mission Alteration	Determinants
Broadening, to accommodate more diverse students; less emphasis upon vocational, more on basic skills and adult education including English as a Second Language	Decline in vocational program enrollments; changing local demographics; new immigrants, new college leadership
Expand technological emphasis and increase use of information technologies	Adjust to environment by developing programs that lead to employment; achieve greater efficiencies; capture new enrollments through distance and on-line instruction
Focus upon student as customer	Changing needs, demographics of student population; Welfare-to-Work students, increase in part-time working adults, new high school graduates, and problem students
Confused mission, going through transition	Re-structuring action of 1995; decline in enrollments; lack of academic focus and decline of vocational programs; formalization of task force on mission
Fluctuating job training function	Changing workplace; state economic boom and bust cycles; changing leadership; declining revenues
Multi-cultural focus	State board mandate for actions on diversity issues; changing student population; new college

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	leadership and actions of faculty

Table 3.5.: Structures

Changed or changing structures	Determinants
Administrative structure: realignments, team structure; recent alteration to business and facilities management	1995 re-structuring which includes responding to fiscal decline; changing leadership; increasing oversight by district office
Governance: more elaborate, more inclusive, more time-consuming	1995 president and 1997 president: movement from "autocratic" management to "shared" governance to "participatory" governance
Increasing work and increased workloads, especially for faculty	Loss of staff position in 1995 re-structuring; declining enrollments and revenues; committee work as a result of shared and participatory governance
Program declines: vocational, intensive English for international students	Changing job market, including more jobs for unskilled and changing workplace demands; recent decline in international students (Asian)
Additions in distance education, including on-line instruction	Compete with other institutions; attract more students
Changing curricula and instructional delivery	Adapt to changing external environment; meet needs of new student populations--increased diversity, multi-culturalism: former "mismatch between curriculum and students"; capture enrollments
Accountability: performance indicators, state mandated	State legislators micro-management, more fiscal conservatism and competition for money; public concern over public sector expenditures
New leadership: three presidents between 1995 and 1997	Movement of presidents within district; respond to declining enrollments and revenues
Administrative work: touch-tone registration, on-line grading, degree audits; voice mail communication; electronic mail communication and student advising	Technological change

City South Community College is undergoing a mission shift, with the potential for considerable alterations, again, to structures. For decades, viewed and self-defined as a vocational institution, CSCC encountered serious budgetary and enrollment difficulties in the early and mid 1990s. The image of the college and its patterns of behavior perpetuated both its mission and its problems. In 1995, the college president proposed a major re-structuring initiative, carried out some of this plan, and then moved to serve as a senior administrator at the district office before his retirement in 1997. The new president on leave from another district college while not overturning the re-structuring initiative did alter past practices in governance and began to emphasize other organizational behaviors, including attention to multi-culturalism. While the college mission did not change during this two year period, both continuing patterns of enrollment decline and employee involvement in college decision-making,

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as well as recognition by organizational members of changing student demographics, the return to the former mission--as a vocational institution--was unlikely. By 1997/98, mission alteration became institutionalized, with activities directed at planning for change.

But the 1995 re-structuring had realigned units, altered working and personal relationships, and effectively de-professionalized faculty, although this condition was promoted long before the re-structuring. This structural alteration was and continues to be an impediment to mission change, as the college is organized along the lines of a business or company more than as an academic institution. College efforts since 1995 have been directed to focus more on students and student needs. One manifestation of this is the attention to multi-culturalism; another is to student services, particularly addressing the needs of adult part-time students. But the structural changes of 1995, including the de-emphasis of a strong academic culture, have meant that attention to students is also a business-like process: that is, defining students as customers, not, for example, as learners.

New efforts to reverse enrollment declines have meant an increased emphasis upon instructional delivery: developing courses that can be delivered on-line, in flexible formats; changing course offerings from day-time to night-time; and approaching business and industry to gain contracts for training. But, these actions take place in a context that suggests an unstable mission and an uncertain faculty. Furthermore, the district office is viewed as a guiding force in new delivery systems, such as distance education, with faculty especially leery of central influence and control.

The formal process of a task force to address mission and planning for change has received support from all internal sectors. While committee generated change is slow, it does benefit from the advice and participation of a broad segment of the organizational membership. This structure is to some extent the mirror opposite of the 1995 re-structuring act--a solo, top-down decision that disconnected work from purpose and left organizational members wondering about its intentions. Although some organizational members, especially new ones, might doubt the significance of the 1995 actions, they represent the autocratic environment of the previous decade and the early 1990s that not only de-professionalized faculty but also denied self-efficacy to most organizational members.

Conclusion

Several prominent influencers loom large in the organizational behaviors and actions of City South Community College in the 1990s: these include the former president, the local and state economy, the changing workplace, the district office leadership, and population demographics. While the college is not progressing well as a vocational institution, even in late 1996 and again in 1998 organizational members continue to view the institution as vocationally oriented. This self-defined image tends to impede the college from moving away from past patterns of behaviors and past memories, largely the consequence of the actions of the former president. Declining enrollments, decreases in state appropriations for the college, and changing student populations to some extent force the college to change its mission; nonetheless, the mission as a social construction--that is, how organizational members conceive of their mission and how they enact and play out their beliefs and conceptions--remains largely intact from at least the 1980s.

While there is wide-spread recognition about the need for change and there are numerous actions to promote change and responsiveness to external conditions, these recognitions and actions are not founded upon a pervasive or deeply believed set of assumptions about the college's purposes or about its role as a postsecondary educational institution. Even in the most recent iteration of the college's revised mission in March, 1998, there is an articulation of intentions and a listing of commitments (e.g., "commits to meeting the changing needs of students by providing...programs which prepare students to succeed in their careers or further their education"), but no compelling and convincing identity of the institution, beyond the introductory assertion that the college "is a community of educators". There is little other institutional evidence to support this assertion.

Faced with a changing local population and with altering and sometimes contradictory demands from the workplace, City South Community College can no longer preserve its vocational image and reputation. Jobs which were once filled by CSCC graduates have either disappeared or if they still exist are now filled with unskilled labor. The student population that the college draws upon is now predominantly minority, recently immigrated and in need of language and other basic skills. Students who require or demand occupations that are more than temporary jobs need programs that are either sophisticated training that takes two years minimum or articulated with baccalaureate degree programs so that students can eventually attain baccalaureate status. Without at least this, CSCC cannot sustain itself as an independent college: it surely will have its fears realized and lose students to competitors--either other community colleges or to privates such as the University of Phoenix.

Pacific Suburban Community College

Pacific Suburban Community College (PSCC) is a mid-size (7,300 student population) community college situated in the state of Hawaii, surrounded by a relatively affluent community. The college is part of the University of Hawaii system, the only public higher education institutions in the state, with the state's community colleges and the university's several campuses operating out of the same structure, including a system chief executive officer and a governing board. Faculty at both community colleges and the university campuses are members of the same collective bargaining unit, a situation that is rare if not unique in higher education in the U.S. or Canada. PSCC's connection to both the state, through the state government, and to the university system figures prominently in both the historical development of the institution and in organizational behaviors in the 1990s. Furthermore, the geographical, social, and economic context for Pacific Suburban Community College, specifically its location in the Hawaiian Islands, has helped to shape college life--including college behaviors and members' perspectives and attitudes--and to influence college growth and development.

In the mid and late 1990s, the state witnessed a sharp alteration in its economy, one largely determined by the decline of tourism. The California recession of the early 1990s and the Japanese economic slide of the mid and late 1990s translated into fewer Californian and Japanese tourists for the state. The historical dependency of Hawaii on off-shore trade and travel, and on its strategic location, whether historically for trade, or military conquest and defense, altered not in nature but in kind: the economy is singly focussed upon tourists. Other natural resources such as sugar and pineapples have diminished in their economic worth; the military importance of the islands and thus the resources committed to the preservation of the military have declined substantially. It is culture and climate, along with vacation amenities, that provide the islands with commodities that bring others to the islands and sustain the islands' population economically. By the mid-1990s, the Hawaiian economy, used to ups and downs, moved into a period of decline, which has since not altered in direction. And because the state supports the public higher education sector with the majority of its revenues, supplemented recently by tuition fees, the weakening economy results in diminishing state revenues and thus reduced fiscal resources for institutions. Indeed, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hawaii, and the chief operating officer for the community colleges, noted to the state's legislative committee on Ways and Means in March, 1997 that the colleges experienced a 32% decrease in funding allocations from the state between 1992 and 1996, yet the colleges served more students in 1996 than in 1992.

Thus, the higher education sector, including Pacific Suburban Community College, while influenced by the state, which in turn is dependent upon the tourist industry, is captive to a condition of fiscal decline. Against this economic condition of constrained resources, Pacific Suburban Community College maintained its programs, with one exception, and altered its structures, including curriculum, delivery, and administrative organization, in order to preserve not only its mission but also its distinguishing qualities. These actions--whether increasing distance education offerings, customizing training for hotels, or deferring facilities maintenance--are responses to declining resources and the need for PSCC to maintain or increase revenues. Increased revenues are generated almost solely by increasing enrollments, both through tuition revenue and government allocations.

Ironically, it is culture--the arts, languages, knowledge, and even ethics--that characterize and distinguish PSCC. Yet, the college is driven by and responsive to a material world: driven by the need for more fiscal resources and responsive to the economic needs of the marketplace.

Finally, the island as both place and condition for organizational development is influential. The island and the college are closed environments on the one hand and on the other hand, open environments, importers of geographically distant environments. They are closed environments because the population is stable, and organizational members age and develop together, over time. They are open environments because they borrow from others: they import both knowledge and goods, adapting these to their society. The college assimilates concepts and practices of distance education, service learning, and multi-culturalism from mainland USA. Pacific Suburban develops a culinary arts program amalgamating Asian and European cooking. Politically American, the island is South Pacific and Asian in its cultural orientation. The college's population, like the state itself, is multi-ethnic, with a predominantly Asian ethnic population. In 1995, 22% of the college student population identified itself as Japanese ethnicity, with 16.5% Filipino and 10% Hawaiian.

But, the college, like the island, is a closed environment as it serves its island population or if it provides services off-shore then it does so to maintain its community role. Its faculty are long-serving, with little turn-over in personnel. Its administrative group are largely former faculty or long-serving administrators. Support staff, too, are long serving employees, either of the college or another state institution, such as the university, government, or another community college.

The ocean surrounding the college's environment, it seems, both brings the outside world in and keeps the outside world out. The college reflects its island environment and is as well subject to its many conditions, including its government and its economy.

Globalization

Table 4.1.

Themes	Manifestations
Internationalization: multi-culturalism and Pacific Rim orientation; dependency upon global economies, especially Asian; moderate growth of international student population, although decrease in 1997/98 because of Asian economic decline; international institutional connections; tourist dependent, especially on Japanese, as the college provides workforce training for tourist industry and the college is dependent upon state revenues	Programs have history of multi-cultural influence, but in past five years, this emphasis has increased: multi-culturalism more integrated into curriculum; occupational programs such as culinary arts have an international, Pacific Rim focus; distance education courses developed or under-development for Asian and South Pacific countries; exchange programs with other colleges (Japan); growth in international students from 42 in 1989 to 207 in 1996
Workforce Training: increasing emphasis upon marketplace needs; contract training to generate revenues; occupational training in health, food services, human services, hospitality, and business: rising and falling enrollments	Changing employment needs means altering programs to fit marketplace; shifts in employment potentials for health care workers meant altering programs; downsizing of office/secretarial workers meant eliminating program; contract training for hotels, tour guides; training for business (e.g., supervisory skills)
Electronic Technology: rising focus upon instructional technology, particularly distance education; training use of instructional technology; preparation for South Pacific and Asian distance education offerings; increases in Web based instruction; efforts to improve information systems to support administration: goal of efficiency and effectiveness	Program development that both uses instructional technology and trains for the use of information technology (e.g., revised curricula in 1995-96, Business Computer Information Systems); college designated Auto Cad training center; on-line instruction--Expository Writing; courses offered via telecommunications in state; use of Web (e.g., biological sciences), e-mail and synchronous conferencing by computer; development of health sciences course for the Web; increases in specific areas--e.g., foreign languages--for distance education; developing network system for student

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	information for entire university and community college system
Labor Alterations: increase in faculty work because of curriculum work and use of technology; however, no formal acknowledgement of the increase in workload or serious complaints by faculty or staff because of workload changes; increase in administrative work because of administrative contraction and use of technology; recent program discontinuation and plans for future labor changes	Distance education and the integration of educational technology--e.g., on-line instruction--have expanded the work load and the oversight role of faculty; administrative and support staff numbers do not grow and administrators take on more work--e.g., college president in 1998 performs both his presidential role as well as a university/community college system role, both full-time jobs; Secretarial Science program discontinuation led to faculty re-assignments at other colleges and loss of employee positions; plans for re-structuring indicate elimination of positions, especially administrative-type roles
Productivity and Efficiency: incentives to increase productivity; declining state revenues force increasing productivity; more attention to student outcomes; staff "doing more with less"; plans to increase revenues; rationale for re-structuring plan	College able to keep tuition revenues; college system raises tuition; remedial education shifted from credit to non-credit--able to use non-credit instructors and increase fees; distance education delivery used for efficiency; concern over student attrition rates; incentives to generate revenues: funds used to support program areas that raised money; streamline operations and reduce administrative positions
Public sector funding constraints: major state economic "slow-down"; drop in tourism, affects retail industry and thus drop in state revenues; expectation of budget cuts at college: "everything pales in comparison to the economy"; government institutions face 10% funding reduction for 1998; present, unlike the past, means a structural change state-wide; 32% decrease in funding for post-secondary education since 1992; state finds ways to save money, such as delaying payments of monthly salaries of public employees by one pay period and through reduction of operating monies to colleges	No funded sabbatical leaves at college over past 6 years; college moves closer to marketplace, private sector, to generate revenues; college has hiring freeze 1997/1998; college planning to re-structure, beginning by reducing at least 5% of costs ($570,000-$770,000 cut); vacant positions not filled or removed; college system increases tuition fees by 75% from 1995 to 1997
Restructuring: 1989-1996--modest alterations; plans begin in 1997 for major alteration for 1998 year; driven by drop in state economy and resulting decrease in state funding; need to alter management practices; need to re-align units; need to secure resources from the marketplace locally and internationally; increase autonomy of higher education institutions from the state	1995 re-structuring of student services--"one-stop shopping"; gradually drop administrative positions; plans for 1998 and beyond: unify credit and non-credit within program areas (e.g., Business) for greater efficiency and increased revenue potential (e.g., retail institute for training of retail merchants); consolidate program areas ("cross-functional units"); fewer managers; reduce staff duplication; fund promising growth areas; college decreasing reliance upon state funding
State intervention: state accused of "micro-managing" university and college system; college viewed as another department of state government; state government not viewed in a favorable light--"the only snakes on the island are in the government"; governor's office influential--e.g., appoints board members and involved in labor relations through collective bargaining; legislature influences through policy, through funding, and through championing of specific programs: "downsizing is politically popular"	Government procedures for numerous college actions (e.g., budget management)--viewed as inefficient; governor's office intervened and diverted a 1997 faculty strike; tuition policy in 1995--college keeps revenues but government operating monies decrease
Private sector interaction: largely a function of	Workplace based training, particularly in the

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revenue needs and to fulfill job-training mandate; planning for major increase in this area, a result of diminishing state funds; intention to increase entrepreneurial behaviors	tourist industry; plans to develop a culinary institute to attract private sector funds
Partnerships: government focused in-state, inter-institutional out of state	As part of a system of university campuses and colleges, PSCC has several formal agreements within the system--most notable is a 1995 transfer agreement with the university; partnerships to provide training for state agencies
External competition: competes locally with the university and with several private education institutions; competes internationally with other education and training providers, especially in Asia and South Pacific; competes among all public agencies for government funds	Competition with university for students as college has strong reputation for quality instruction and high rates of transfer; competition for adult students with other institutions--college has advantages given its location, reputation, and costs; developed distance education courses--on-line most recently--to deliver out of state; pilot projects in South Pacific; poised to offer 2 year and more programs internationally (e.g., Culinary Arts); reducing reliance upon government for funding
Homogenization: processes tend to be highly bureaucratic and externally driven by state and university; college treated like a state agency and like all other colleges; higher education system is part of state bureaucracy	Budget and budget reporting highly inefficient--college keeps at least three different records of revenues and expenditures; policy development and communication are unclear, yet a consistent muddle: all levels of the institution and the system have similar responses to quality of state and university procedures
Commodification: development and offering of courses and programs for revenues; use different delivery methods to respond to business and industry needs	Rapidly changing its developmental focus to salable offerings and those that can be provided on-line (e.g., health sciences, foreign languages); local training programs for retail merchandising--developed for specific audience; moving closer to marketplace (e.g., Japanese for business clientele); expanding use of electronic technology--deliver instruction on-line for non-campus based students

On the one hand, Pacific Suburban Community College continues its historical pattern of contracting geographical distance between South Pacific and Asian countries, as well as between in-state islands, by increasing its development and use of electronic technologies (i.e., distance education) and unifying cultural differences among its various ethnic populations by increasing its emphasis upon multi-culturalism. On the other hand, PSCC is increasingly an object, a victim even, of economic globalization as others' economies (e.g., California in the early 1990s and Japan in the late 1990s) have a significant bearing upon college actions. The state economy, as several organizational members observed, has a pervasive influence over college behaviors and actions: "everything pales in comparison to the economy". This economy is dependent upon tourism and its related spin-offs, such as retail merchandising. State tourism is declining as are the revenues associated with this industry. The past pattern of expansion has either ended or about to come to an end,

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and public institutions, such as PSCC, are at a cross-roads, either for the foreseeable future at the mercy of a declining state economy or preparing in the next year to two years to alter sources of funding. The state does not seem prepared to raise taxes to support the public sector. Observers see that the effects of the state's high salaries attributed to the large percentage of unionized workers--approximately 22% state-wide as compare to the 12% national average--will have to be modified by reduction in workforce and by curtailing public sector expenditures. But the state's high costs of living, a product in part of Asian capital, without expanded revenues for the state and resultant increases in state expenditures will further the existing situation in the state of "haves and have nots".

PSCC as an institution is making plans to move closer to the marketplace and further from reliance upon government in the belief that the private sector will respond and provide needed revenues for the college. Thus, state economic woes mean that some societally beneficial actions by the college--such as the provision of relatively inexpensive training and education--are coming to an end. Once tuition rose, enrollments declined. If the pattern continues, PSCC, along with other colleges and the university, will not only generate fewer tuition revenues but also will suffer a further decline in government funding. Thus, the college is setting itself on a course to raise productivity, and some increases are intended to come from international sources who can access college programs.

Pacific Suburban Community College maintains and even expands its international focus and simultaneously serves the needs of its local students by its emphasis upon multi-culturalism. While this emphasis has instrumental value--it is intended to attract students and increase enrollments--it has cultural value for organizational members, who are fervent proponents of maintaining a cultural mosaic, both in college student demographics and in curriculum. Thus, cultural events on campus, such as International Week, and courses and programs that have cultural components and multi-cultural orientations (e.g., culinary arts, humanities, languages, business) are integral to college behaviors and actions. In this case, the global is local because of student demographics, with the college as a minority-majority college (i.e., visible minorities are the largest class of students on campus), with the local community as multi-ethnic, and with the state as populated by large numbers of people with Asian origins or ancestry.

Thus, the college endeavors to maintain its cultural and social emphasis while addressing its economic situation. The economic situation of decline leads the college to plan on a major re-structuring process, altering organizational structures to reduce expenditures and to focus upon several strategies to raise revenues. In short, the college is set to de-emphasize bureaucracy and emphasize Adhocracy (see Mintzberg, 1989), becoming more entrepreneurial by loosening controls over units, diminishing both the role and numbers of managers and expanding the role of faculty by flattening the hierarchy, encouraging and even requiring faculty to engage in capitalistic behaviors, individually and in groups. That is, PSCC intends to connect more closely with the business and industry community as well as with South Pacific and Asian customers of education and training.

The intrusiveness of government, a fact since the inception of the college and reported as increasing, is expected to diminish both as a result of declining state fiscal support for the college and rising dependence of Pacific Suburban upon other resource providers. The state, as yet, has not moved toward greater accountability measures, likely because of its present ability to control and influence higher education institutions through its policies and especially through its bureaucratic and funding relationships (e.g., state-wide contract negotiations for faculty, with government as a third party; state appointment of governing board members). The assumption that a lessening of government fiscal support for the college will lead to greater independence from government is not borne out by either research (e. g., Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) or by the reported experiences of other colleges in this study. Indeed, the college may need the state more than its expects, especially if its entrepreneurial actions do not yield their intended effects. As a board member noted, neither the university nor the colleges are economic players or global competitors and thus they might have to re-consider their future role, including educating and serving the state's population in a changed economy, one where subsistence may be a realistic condition.

Organizational Adaptation

Table 4.2.

Approaches	Manifestations
Population Ecology	Geographical location as an island, size of state (i.e., population of approximately 1 million), economic condition of state (i.e., downturn as a result of tourism), and historical context (e.g., Asian immigration); state economy fragile; highly unionized workforce; high costs of living; state dominated society; university/college system; local

	demographics and student demographics
Life Cycles	Long term employees; island life includes continuing patterns of social and economic life; organizational members develop together; college going through advanced developmental stage
Strategic Choice	Develop and build upon historical strengths such as curriculum (e.g., transfer program, culinary arts, languages); use electronic technologies for distance education to serve more students and increase revenues both in state and internationally; responses to state funding declines develop into major re-structuring plan--management driven but faculty supported; focus upon students; increasing focus upon business and industry; maintain prestigious position as a public college; instructional projects (e.g., service learning) to maintain high profile
Symbolic Action	Prestigious college locally and nationally relative to other colleges; sustains connections to the university and acts as if part of the university
Accidentalism	University president begins in mid 1990s with a systems orientation because of his career background; positioning of former PSCC college president as university Vice-Chancellor and formal leader of state's colleges; PSCC president's educational background and role in university/college system information systems change

Pacific Suburban Community College's adaptation to its environment is both complex and rational, or close to predictable. A host of environmental forces are at work influencing the college: these include the very geography and geographical location of the state and the size, in geographical area and in population, of the state; historical connections to Asian countries, and, most prominent in the 1990s, the economy. The college undertakes a considerable number of strategies, as if the primary actions in the late 1990s of the college are deliberate forms of adaptation. While a major strategy is the preservation of programmatic strengths and multi-culturalism, other strategies might be seen to undermine these or ignore them. While university transfer is not just a programmatic strength but where close to 70% of students undertake coursework, college strategies put emphasis upon marketplace--private and international sector--needs, specifically training. Whereas nursing job placements are declining in the state, the college addresses the needs of a health science workforce in a South Pacific country. Also, the college plans to entice international clients for training in the culinary arts. Locally, the college develops programs for the training of retail merchants and for hotel service employees.

The major present strategy is for re-structuring the institution not just to reduce

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expenditures but also to adapt the institution organizationally and in its services to the marketplace in order to generate fiscal resources (see Table 4.2.). A predictable response to resource decline--reduce expenditures in areas that do not affect production, in this case instruction--re-structuring in U.S. companies has led to expenditure reduction without accompanying increases in productivity (e.g., see Bridges, 1994). Furthermore, the desire to reduce reliance upon the state may mean that the college will increase its private role and become dependent upon other resource providers, whose goals may not be in line with the educational mission of the institution. Additionally, the international trend of governments to reduce funding for institutions has not led to less state intervention in the management of higher education institutions: performance indicators are one of the many levers that governments have used to continue to hold institutions accountable to legislatures. Thus, PSCC may be heading down a path that suggests that adaptation is a process of undoing its strategic intent. What is somewhat surprising is the extent to which faculty, normally a critic of managerial strategies, accept the re-structuring plan, or what they know of it. But perhaps this acceptance is a manifestation of the environment, both historical and current, in which faculty reside, for example an island state and thus an institution dependent upon international economies for its tourist revenues.

Other factors influence adaptation. Some of these are classified as symbolic and others as largely "twists of fate", accidents. PSCC, as part of the university system and as an acknowledged high performer within that system, maintains a relatively prestigious position within the state. This position, in part, enables the college to embark on a re-structuring plan, whereas other colleges and the university are not choosing this route to cope with budget shortfalls. Another influential factor in organizational adaptation is the prominence of the college, achieved through the promotion of the former college president to the position of Vice Chancellor of the university as well as formal leader of the state's colleges. These factors permit some adaptation actions of the college and likely encourage others, for example the college's international emphasis and reputation which support the college's espoused multi-cultural values and the college's activities in South Pacific and Asian countries.

Accidentalism. The backgrounds and orientation of higher education leaders, both at the community college and at the university are viewed by organizational members as the most influential forces of organizational change. The arrival of a university president in the mid-1990s with a systems orientation developed through his previous career led to change in how the state's community colleges and the university functioned together. A second influential condition involved the positioning of the former president of PSCC as the Vice-Chancellor of the university and the formal leader of state's community colleges. And third, the educational background and role in the university and community colleges' information systems of the president of Pacific Suburban Community College brought additional prestige to PSCC.

Strategy

Table 4.3.

Description	Intended Outcomes
Re-structure college: consolidate departments; reduce administrators; eliminate staff duplications; amalgamate credit and non-credit area	Reduce expenditures; increase revenues; position college for marketplace; decrease reliance upon government funding
Move closer to business and industry community; serve needs of working adults	Increase revenues; increase enrollments
Develop culinary arts institute	Increase revenues and reputation
Move remedial education from credit to non-credit	Reduce credit expenditures; make remedial education profitable or cost-recovery
Emphasis upon student-centeredness	Increase student enrollments
Increase multi-cultural focus institutionally and in curriculum	Serve cultural aspirations of college community; increase enrollments
Develop and upgrade curriculum for on-line instruction	Increase enrollments; generate revenues

The historical strategy in the late 1980s and early 1990s for Pacific Suburban Community College was largely directed to the elaboration of mission and the maintenance and indeed improvement of reputation (see Table 4.3.). The emphasis was upon quality programs, especially academic and a few occupational programs (e.g., health sciences and culinary arts), with innovative instructional approaches (e.g., writing across the curriculum) as important adjuncts to college behaviors. But by the mid-1990s, the economic situation of the state worsened with respect to public sector funding, and PSCC began to plan for structural change. Several years of deferred physical maintenance, the curtailment of offerings that were not productive and even the movement of remedial education from credit to non-credit in order to change expenditures into revenues did assist in protecting core operations, but did little to change the pattern of reduced revenues. Even the emphasis upon students and the on-going preservation and growth of multi-culturalism brought neither increased

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enrollments nor new revenues or revenues sources.

The major two strategies, both interconnected, entailed re-structuring the institution and positioning the college closer to local business and industry and to international consumers of education and training. While moving closer to the marketplace was a progressively growing action, including greater development of distance education programming, re-structuring was a plan, intended to go into effect in July 1998 provided that the expected budget shortfall was not altered by some final act of government. The strategies in short were intended to reduce expenditures that were not central to core operations, increase expenditures in growing and promising areas, and develop and promote products (e.g., training) that would generate revenues. The outcomes of the re-structuring strategy depended upon the ability of the new structure to facilitate revenue generation and to cope with expenditure reductions. That is, the reduction of an associate dean's position would not only save the college a salary and benefit costs but that reduction would also be expected to be accommodated by more efficient management and gains in effectiveness, for example, departmental co-operation in pursuing and acquiring contracts for training. Faculty work, for example expanding into the development and delivery of distance education, would have to include the acquisition of either more students or more revenues or both.

Mission and Structure

Table 4.4.: Mission

Mission Alterations	Determinants
Greater attention to students as customers	Decreasing enrollments; increased awareness of multi-culturalism and diverse needs of students; more adult students
Drifting away from local community	Few structures within college that connect to community; not required in the past
Marketplace orientation	Loss of government revenues
Commodification of education and training	Generate revenues by contract training; selling of program by distance education
Narrowing mission: no longer "everything to everyone"	Drop low performing areas; eliminated secretarial science
Increasing emphasis upon multi-culturalism	Sensitivity to student and community needs; increase enrollments; faculty value system

Table 4.5.: Structures

Changed or changing structures	Determinants
Moved remedial education from credit to non-credit	Reduce expenditures; generate revenues; system policy initiative
75% increase in tuition fees over 3 year period	Government policy; decrease public sector

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	expenditures
Increasing distance education and on-line instruction	System mandate; increase enrollments; increase revenues
Plan to re-structure: major organizational change	Reduced government revenues
One stop student services	Serve adult students; more attention to students in order to increase enrollments and improve retention of students

While college members work to protect and sustain the basic college mission and to preserve several qualitative aspects of the college, such as its multi-cultural heritage and its curricular strengths, they also work toward moving the college closer to the marketplace to acquire resources so that the college can sustain itself. On the one hand, the mission seems to have expanded--college members are doing more, reaching international markets and students, increasing distance education offerings, adding service learning programs, integrating multi-culturalism into the curriculum. But, on the other hand, in moving closer to the marketplace, the college is setting priorities, establishing a structure for areas of the mission that will increase or diminish. Those areas that bring financial gain to the college, either through increased enrollments or increased revenues or both will gain a higher priority, and survive. Those activities that do not perform in this way, that are peripheral to the financial aspirations of the college will lose, achieving a low priority. In the case of remedial education, those who cannot afford to pay, the lower-socio-economic division of the community, have lost their education. But remedial education as a program remains at the institution, in a non-credit, continuing education area, because its enrollments have not faltered and the program pays its way. Thus, while the mission of providing remedial education has not changed, the population served by this program has altered. This pattern may, and is likely to, repeat itself as the college moves its programming closer to those who can pay. This population is intended to be those not only locally but those in other countries, and thus the traditional community college mission of serving all of society will alter as the college will increasingly serve a specific segment of its own society and the elites of other societies.

Conclusion

For Pacific Suburban Community College, both geography and history are destiny: that is, location of both the institution and the state as well as institutional history are highly influential for the actions of the college. These actions, especially in the present, are strategies for adapting the institution to its environment. In the late

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1990s, the college is consumed with its fiscal situation: dependent upon a state government that has declining revenues as a consequence of its reliance upon a single industry--tourism--to support the economy. Tourism in the case of the state of Hawaii is tied to the fortunes of the Asian economy, particularly to Japan's. The state is vulnerable to international economic shocks, and the college is in turn vulnerable to the state and its economic performance. The island economy like many of its natural attributes is fragile (Daws, 1974).

The stable pattern of the 1980s and indeed the early 1990s is giving way to market forces--international forces--and Pacific Suburban Community College is turning its assets into products to sell on the local and international market. With more dependency upon students as fee payers and non-governmental resource providers, the college moves down an unfamiliar path. Furthermore, the college is planning to alter how it manages itself, turning to current business practices, particularly high technology business models of entrepreneurial and highly responsive operations, a model rare in the public higher education sector. This suggests that faculty work will alter too, with faculty required to become more entrepreneurial, more engaged in the development, marketing, and delivery of their products. The present state of the college is a considerable distance from the planned state: the college is an academic environment serving largely university bound students, through traditional methods of instruction, within a bureaucratic structure. In altering its operations, Pacific Suburban Community College will have to un-do much of its history.

City Center College

City Center College (CCC), with two campuses, is located in the province of British Columbia in an urban environment that has a large immigrant population. Campus locations are in working and lower middle-class neighborhoods, as well as in a city core, although there are areas of affluence within close proximity, and the college serves the entire city which includes both a large middle class population and an affluent community. The college's history includes considerable internal turmoil, including fiscal difficulties, with a fairly recent major structural change involving the college's development from a three campus operation to a two campus one. The third campus became a separate college in the mid-1990s. The action of establishing two separate colleges from one was driven both by politics and economics: the faculty union at the departing campus had put the separation issue on the bargaining table during labor action over collective bargaining; and the fiscal crises of the institution were attributed to the management approach used in operating three campuses. Thus, the college altered from its position as a large institution to a mid-size institution, from its education services with a large and comprehensive curriculum to a more narrow and specialized curriculum, focused upon adult up-grading and training in specific vocations, and from serving a cross-section of the urban environment to serving the greater part of the community that is less affluent and less socially mobile than other parts of the urban community.

The political climate of the province in which the college is situated is a significant component of the college's development and present functioning. Since the early 1990s, the New Democratic Party, a political party with a social democratic history and a left-of-center reputation (Barman, 1991), has been the government in power, and during this period the government and its agencies have engendered considerable change to public institutions. City Center College has been particularly subject to government initiatives, including, obviously, the government decision to form a new college from one of City Center College's campuses. The government also acted to alter college governance, labor relations, and not only management of the institution but also morale of employees through its funding behaviors. While the political party has an historical association with social causes, with organized labor, and the disenfranchised, it did not have a good economic management reputation, and its record of staying in power was weak (Barman, 1991). The government of the mid-1990s wedded their social programs to neo-liberal fiscal policies, and increased their expectations for public institutions to become both more accountable and more responsive to the public, especially to business and industry. Thus, the provincial government through its agencies exercise considerable control over fiscal behaviors of public institutions through its approach to funding and over programming and services of institutions through both its funding incentives and its government appointments to governing boards. Additionally, in the mid-1990s the government was a lead party in the multi-party agreement between colleges and their faculty unions to centralize collective bargaining. Finally, the government headed a strategic planning exercise for colleges, and through multi-party agreement, including faculty unions, colleges, and community representatives, including those from business and industry, committed the colleges to a plan that emphasized institutional productivity and provincial economic prosperity through training at the college level.

By the mid-1990s when City Center College had established itself as a two campus institution, it replaced the majority of its managers, leaving only a handful of long-serving administrators and the president, who was relatively new to the college, in place. Especially prominent in the new managerial group were the three vice-presidents, two of whom were formerly faculty members at the institution and the third who was recruited from the business community. Several daunting tasks faced this group. First, the college had to cope with an accumulated debt and an historical pattern of budget shortfalls and deficits. Second, the college had to "re-make" itself from a three campus to a two campus college, losing in the process an extremely large program area, approximately 6,000 students, and hundreds of employees and services (e.g., library) that were formerly part of the same institution. Third, both governance and collective bargaining with faculty were undergoing substantial change as noted above. And, finally, the employees at the two remaining campuses--the faculty and staff--were not new; indeed they were long-time, aging employees conditioned to and familiar with long-standing structures and practices.

Certainly as influential during the 1990s in college behaviors as institutional history and government actions were population demographics of the local community that the college served. The college has a reputation as a basic education institution with major emphasis upon English language training. In this context, the college serves its local community which has a large immigrant population, particularly a large Asian population, and this service does emphasize English Language training, in which close to 50% of the college's students have needs. Although students from Asian countries may have professional expertise in their country of origin, in Canada that expertise is questioned and employment in any field for these students requires English language competency. Accompanying population demographics, federal government immigration policies and federal funding for language training have influenced college programming.

City Center College is an institution that is the product of historical forces--social, political, economic--as well as an instrument of government, a source of employment for staff, a place of professional practice for faculty, and a constant object of concern for administrators. It is a large, slow changing bureaucracy. Its internal environment, including its fiscal and physical conditions, which are inadequate in areas of equipment, appropriate learning space, and in condition, as well as its union-management politics, is contentious and complicated enough to occupy organizational members full-time. CCC is a serious institution, with organizational members convinced that in spite of their institution's shortcomings the college is the life-line for its community.

Globalization

Table 5.1.

Themes	Manifestations
Internationalization: international students for increased revenues; subject to international markets; local community heavily immigrant population	New program in Asian culinary Arts; decline in 1997/98 revenues because of Asian market and economies; increasing English as a second language programming
Workforce Training: local jobs limited; government incentives and policies for job training; short-term training incentives from government at odds with longer termed, more marketable training	Connecting English language training with vocational programs; welfare-to-work programs sponsored by government require short-term training and include problem students
Electronic Technology: use of technology for students to access information; little change from past, with poor quality of equipment and lack of equipment and software	CD-ROM workstation for students to access databases; college catalogue on-line in 1995
Labor Alterations: changing roles of faculty and staff--more involved in decision-making through committees--and for managers: increased work, largely committee work; increased benefits to faculty and staff; greater sensitivity to personnel issues	Release time for faculty doing administrative work as a bargaining issue; reductions in staff in early 1990s led to more work for others; recognition of worker status as full-time and part-time, including benefits; more formalized harassment policies and procedures
Productivity and Efficiency: driven by government funding and by policy; tensions between administration and faculty	Bargaining incentives for increased productivity for faculty; college not meeting its goal for enrollments; downsized administration; closed college sites
Public sector funding constraints: government policy--less reliance upon government for fiscal resources; college views provincial government as either cutting budgets or increasing costs, or both; less federal money going to province; expenses rise, government revenues do not rise	Provincial strategic plan calls for greater productivity and less reliance upon government; government agreed to an increase in provincial faculty salaries but did not fund colleges to pay for increases; late 1990s, no increases from government; no capital money from government; 1995 allocation from government actually dropped by over $300,000 from 1994; greater reliance on tuition although government freezes tuition in late 1990s.
Restructuring: major action in the early 1990s to establish new college out of one campus, formalized in mid-1990s; efforts to integrate 2 campuses in mid and late 1990s; "down-sized" administration	Loss of large program area; loss of personnel; re-organized operations and administration in mid-1990s: e.g., eliminated positions; college administration now determined not to have another fractured college and thus devotes energy to integration of two campuses, and coping with differing policies and procedures
State intervention: change to governance, including new governing board membership and creation of an employee educational body (Education Council); change to labor relations with provincial-wide bargaining structure; incentives and policies about skills training and	Increase in discussion and debate among board members; more open decision-making; some "micro-managing" by board and government; welfare-to-work program; provincial strategic plan; support from government for some programs such as English as a second language;

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institutional productivity and accountability; college dependent upon government for resources; effects of legislation, such as Human Rights Legislation; government protects institution	government turning to outcomes' measures; government "freeze on tuition"; government involved in collective bargaining, especially through their funding allocations for salaries; arbitration decisions favor employees, e.g., re-instatements after termination of contracts; government assisted college in mid-1990s with debt
Private sector interaction: source of revenue; government funding incentives	Advertising of products in campus washrooms; college pursues donations
Partnerships: Government policy initiative; role of college foundation but stalled	Administrators work to secure partnerships with private sector
External competition: No competitors; niche college	Heavy emphasis upon English as a second language training and programming, as well as adult basic education and several vocational programs
Homogenization: high levels of differentiation rather than homogenization	Systems, programs, procedures on campuses differ
Commodification: English as a second language	College uses program and courses as vehicle to generate revenues

The provincial government is the principal agent for the college to deal with global forces, as well as with social, cultural and political issues (see Table 5.1.). The government and its agencies interpret global forces for the college, e.g., declining revenues as a result of decreasing exports, such as lumber, to Asian countries. The college is the recipient of government initiatives that respond to global forces: policies on productivity and efficiency; proposals and incentives to engage in private sector partnerships, with no measurable increases in overall government grants to the college. At the same time that government constricts its fiscal support, it increases its oversight and directing of colleges. The government's interpretation of global forces is balanced with its ideology as a social democratic government. As one senior college administrator noted in an articulation that expressed the sentiments of others, "the government is schizoid, contradictory, combining politics and economics: they want productivity and efficiency but also want to protect union jobs; they also want more entrepreneurship." Government thus acts within the context of a global economy as a neo-liberal, capitalistic force trying to respond by legislating productivity and economic growth. But government also acts within the province with a socialist ideology promoting its embrace of multiculturalism, equity, and the underprivileged. On the one hand, the government directs colleges to "freeze tuition" so that students can have access and that a lesser financial burden is placed upon students than the college deems necessary for their productivity. On the other hand, government requires colleges to seek alternate sources of revenue to public sector funds, captured

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from taxation. The government supports the worker, for example assists in raising the salaries of faculty unions, and yet the government asks for greater institutional productivity, which may indeed mean the displacement of workers either by technology or because of financial exigency.

The global environment does connect with the college in the form of a large immigrant population both within the college and in the community. Included in this population are recent immigrants from war-torn countries (e.g., Bosnia), from Asian countries where the standard of living does not match Canada's, and from countries where there are relatives of Canadian citizens (e.g., Hong Kong, Korea). This population in need of English language skills for employment as well as for citizenship and for coping with an anglophone society drives college enrollments and programming. This population also is a large group within the overall urban community, and in serving its community City Center College must meet the needs of a highly diverse population. This suggests that a large immigrant population is influential in the college's sensitivity to multi-culturalism and diversity as well as its focus on job preparation and skills development.

Except for this large, local immigrant population, Asian and Eastern European dominated, the college faces little direct confrontation with global forces. The college is largely bounded by other systems, agencies, and structures--from the provincial government to the provincial collective bargaining framework to the federal government's immigration department--and hence buffered from global forces. Instead, City Center College responds to others' responses: for example, to the actions of government funding of public institutions to cope with declining taxation revenues from industry involved in Asian markets. In the past decade, City Center College has reduced its interactions with an international and global environment, first by reducing its international education operations and second by narrowing its curricular and programming focus as a consequence of the loss of its third campus. While the international education activities reportedly did not generate expected revenues, it did focus the college outside of its community and lead to international associations, training, and reputational image. In this way, the college was not as bounded by the provincial government and looked beyond its role as a social agency or community resource. Its narrower curricular and programming focus while likely strengthening its local community responsiveness limited the college's educational connection to larger scope institutions such as the local universities and detached the college from high level skills and advanced technologies that come with such programs as engineering, computer systems, and undergraduate science.

Organizational Adaptation

Table 5.2.

Approaches	Manifestations
Population Ecology	College develops with its local population which is characterized as an immigrant population; this population drives the college's programming, especially English language training; college mission and actions consistent with serving the local community; parts of the local population include lower socio-economic groups, some of whom make up the welfare-to-work students; the college is connected to other organizations, agencies, institutions, systems, a government bureaucracy and ideology, all which establish an ecology
Life Cycles	With narrowing focus, college moves further into its remedial and developmental role and as well more internally focused, for example on governance, facilities, politics, and resources; aging faculty who approach retirement, "talk retirement"; emphasis in collective bargaining upon benefits and security; tendency to "maintain status quo" and to focus upon fiscal deficits a condition that "stifles innovation"; organizational development re-shaped by loss of campus and efforts to integrate remaining two.
Strategic Choice	Mission focus and operational focus upon specific programs, less comprehensive curriculum: address English language training, basic skills, job preparation, and a few vocational programs; hiring and firing of managers; budgetary cuts are strategic cuts; early and mid 1990s political influence of board as well as strategy for budget deficit; attention to board and board members; integration of two campuses; attention to social programs, e.g. First Nations, that are government priorities
Symbolic Action	Mission development and sustaining social ideology of serving the under-served and under-privileged
Accidentalism	Ideological match of provincial government in power and local community; recent board chair appointment: college employee; separation of third campus

Although the college is heavily influenced by its context--its local community, its relationship to government, and its history--ironically, managers rely upon symbolic behaviors to direct organizational actions. Managers are limited in the objective manipulation of the college and its environment; instead, managers function symbolically, managing and manipulating meanings and interpretations. For example, while the college budget is almost fully committed to specific expenditures, college managers can engage with other campus members in extensive planning about the direction of the college, both on a day-to-day basis and over an extended period of time. CCC organizational members, including board members, devote considerable time to internal organizational matters, such as review and revision of mission, integration of campuses, and meetings and internal communications. Nonetheless, adaptation does not rely upon symbolic action, largely because managerial and other institutional actions do not alter environments. Instead, symbolic behaviors constitute coping mechanisms for college members.

From one perspective, the college adapts to its environment in two major ways (see Table 5.1.). First, organizational managers define CCC's environment as its local community, and thus they conceive of the college's role as a responsive institution to its immediate external community. To some extent, college members act to give the institution a specific identity and to meet goals consistent with that identity. Second, the college responds to student demand, and that demand is a local demand for language training, basic skills, employment preparation, and specific vocational training. Its programs reflect the demographics of a large segment its immediate community, particularly its immigrant and lower socio-economic status community. Thus, external environments dominate, and college actions conform to environmental characteristics.

The prominent influence of the college's local and student population cannot be underestimated (see Table 5.1.). The high percentage of immigrants and non-native English language speakers are the instructional focus of CCC. Thus, the college adapts to its local population, based upon their demographic characteristics. Furthermore, college members are internally focussed. That is, their energies are directed to maintenance, especially the preservations of historical patterns in personnel practices and employment gains, such as worker benefits and job security, as well as formal bureaucratic positions.

Largely an employee group that has long service at the institution and an organization with a lengthy history of fractious labor-management relations, CCC exhibits an entrenched pattern of behaviors. Life cycles explanations of adaptation are appropriate here as the organization has passed through the stages of organizational development and faces sever challenges in overcoming its "rigidity and conservatism" (Cameron, 1984, p. 126).

Accidentalism. Changes in the 1990s to the governing board of City Center College have been influential in organizational adaptation. Foremost among these changes was the appointment of board members whose personal backgrounds matched the prevailing policies of the government in power. Furthermore, this government's ideological orientation matched that of the college's local community. The demographic characteristics of the local community corresponded to the targeted population of government policy, including visible minorities, displaced and unemployed workers, social assistance clients of the government, and new immigrants. Another action occurred in the later part of the 1990s which was unanticipated by government legislation pertaining to governing boards. At CCC, a college employee who was a recently elected and then appointed board member, consistent with new government legislation on employee participation on the governing board, was elected to the position of board chair, an unprecedented event. As the voice of the board, and as the liaison board member with the college's administration, this college employee was placed in a position whereby she was both the employer of the president and his administration and an employee of the president. This condition presented a number of potential situations of conflicts of interest on the part of the board chair. Finally, the separation of third campus of City Center College in the mid-1990s to become a separate college had a number of unintended outcomes. One of these was that the administration at City Center College acted so as not to permit the two remaining campuses the autonomy that each's organizational members preferred. Thus, considerable energy on the part of administrators was directed to controlling operations at the two campuses and ensuring a high degree of co-ordination.

Strategy

Table 5.3.

Description	Intended Outcomes
Support language training: provide extensive English language training programs and courses; combine English language skills training with specific vocational programs	Serve needs of non-native speakers in community, help new immigrants gain employment, help integration of groups on campus
Deliver programs and services that are compatible with local community needs and government social values	Meet needs of community, especially the needs of the lower socio-economic sector of the community; retain government approbation and

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	ultimately revenues
Re-structured and re-organized: first half of 1990s, eliminate administrative positions, terminate employment of administrators, hire new administrators, work at integration of two campuses; 1997: eliminate positions, restructure services, close off-campus sites	Change organizational focus and operations; develop institutional cohesion; balance budget, cope with government funding shortfalls, avoid deficit

Strategy at City Center College is two-pronged: meet the needs of the local community and attend to internal organizational structures and finances (see Table 5.3.). The college's history of financial difficulties, especially prior to the mid-1990s, has sensitized college members and especially college administrators to budget deficits. A college debt and earlier deficits have provided a considerable incentive to the college's leadership to ensure that finances are managed prudently. Thus, the senior financial officer of the college has a position of influence in college actions; the board of governors serves as an important "watch-dog"; and college managers are charged with controlling expenditures. While this emphasis on fiscal matters has justification, the "fear" of debt, deficits, and ultimate "cutbacks" has led many college members to a condition of stasis. The strategy has worked, but the consequences have led to other problems.

Decisions and actions at City Center College are guided by and directed to the needs of the local community. This community is conceived of by college members as one with a heavy immigrant population, with large numbers of the population in a low socio-economic status, and with a relatively large population of under-represented ethnic groups. The attention to this population corresponds to the social ideology of the government in power. The government has a programmatic emphasis upon social benefits and supports, worker rights, and employment and an articulated focus upon the less-fortunate of society and members of marginalized groups, such as the native population or First Nations people. Given that the large majority of college board members are selected for appointment by the government in power, the compatibility of college mission and board member political allegiance matches government ideology if not government practices.

Mission and Structure

Table 5.4.: Mission

Mission Alterations	Determinants
Further and greater emphasis upon basic	Loss of third campus and its instructional areas

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education, language training, remediation, and developmental education	and personnel; local community needs; government funding
Emphasis upon students increases	Meet provincial standards and expectations; retain student enrollments; student demographics change to include more "problem" students
Increasing focus upon economic survival, with greater attention to the marketplace	"Trying to do something so we don't lay people off"; fiscal constraints drive along with government "under-funding"

Table 5.5.: Structures

Changed or changing structures	Determinants
Altered from a three campus institution to a two campus institution	Third campus initiation and behaviors, and government legislation
Re-structured and re-organized administration, including elimination of positions, establishment of new positions, terminations of employment, new hirings	Fiscal debts, deficits, and perception of mis-management; new president's operational goals
Governing board membership altered to include employees	Government legislation
Establishment of Educational Council, an employee body for educational matters	Government legislation
Establishment of a provincial-wide bargaining structure	Government, employers' association, and provincial faculty union agreement

The mission of the college is largely built upon a programmatic foundation: developmental education, remedial education, and language education and training. In this way, the college responds to and interacts with an external environment. Other actions of the college, such as securing fiscal resources through the private sector, are acts to preserve and support the mission of the college. The college has lost its academic programs, through the establishment of its third campus as an independent college. A board member notes, "We are good at what we do... we have the market on the group we serve", and other college members indicate that altering mission is neither of interest to them or nor part of college discussion.

What is of interest to college members is personal welfare for many and college survival for others. That is, issues of employment security, workload, and retirement, as well as concerns over the college's ability to maintain itself economically, are foremost in the thoughts of college members, administrators, faculty, and support staff.

There is, therefore, a conceptual tension here between the college mission of serving its local community, including serving community members with appropriate educational and training programs and the condition of college insularity with regard to its external environment, especially the environment beyond its local community. There is an apparent stasis because of economic and personal fears. While the college

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views its actions as serving its community, it is also becoming more internally focused, upon governance, upon facilities and their need for improvement, upon fiscal resources, and upon internal politics.

Conclusion

City Center College is bounded by its environment. This environment includes not only its local community but also the provincial government, the provincial government's agent for postsecondary education, the provincial structure for collective bargaining, and the college's own collective agreements with its employees. The college is also clearly directed by its institutional history. That history includes not only the existence of a third campus, now an independent college, but also fiscal debt and financial crises. The financial history shapes present behaviors, making college members both fearful of economic ruin and partially immobilized in acting to alter college behaviors. The loss of the third campus significantly altered the college's curriculum and thus its mission.

Nonetheless, City Center College adapts to its new environment and to its own history by identifying and attempting to secure a credible position in the educational system of its region--bounded by universities, public colleges, proprietary schools, and secondary adult education institutions. To some extent, the college has become a specialized post-secondary educational institution, emphasizing programs and services required by community members. In this vein, the college has returned to some of the foundational principles of the community college (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Dennison & Levin, 1989) including responsiveness to community needs and facilitators of democratization.

Rural Valley College

Rural Valley College (RVC), a relatively medium size, multi-campus institution, with one large campus, a second smaller campus, and other additional sites, is located in a prosperous river valley, within commuting distance of a major metropolitan center, in the province of British Columbia. The college has experienced considerable growth in the last decade, nearly doubling its full-time equivalency (FTE) student numbers to approximately 3800 FTE by 1996/97. Institutional growth has been precipitated by two major factors--local population growth and the establishment of a limited number of baccalaureate degree programs at the institution. This growth, and principally the factor of baccalaureate degree status, has led to significant alterations in various areas, such as resources and facilities, personnel, curriculum, and governance. The college's budget, for example, expanded 200% over the period of 1990/91 to 1995/96, a 40%/ year growth. In the 1990s, the college added approximately 100 additional full-time faculty. In addition, major facility expansion on the largest campus and dramatic curricular change, the development and offering of four year degree programs in the Arts and Social Sciences, in career oriented-areas such as Nursing, and in selected Science areas, have altered not only how observers would view the institution but also how long-term employees perceive institutional mission and internal relationships. For some, the increase in size means that long-time colleagues are no longer "physically crossing paths"; for others, the historically close connection to the local community is giving way to preoccupation with internal processes such as governance, co-ordination of work, labor relations, and, not least of all, academic professionalism which includes program and professional development. Finally, the development of baccalaureate programs, both at this institution and at others in the same provincial jurisdiction, led to reform in institutional governance. At Rural Valley College, with its history as a collegial environment, including a single bargaining unit for both faculty and support staff and a small cohort of excluded personnel, or managers, the shift to a university style of governance brought on by provincial legislation has been a gradual process but not without conflict. While maintaining many of their former processes and behaviors of decision-making, college personnel continue to adjust to the new governance structures and processes. One identified change is that the individual units, or disciplines, are more independent than in the past, likely the consequence of new faculty with doctoral degrees and experience largely in university environments. The institution is clearly "moving out of an older model", whether that model is a labor-management model, a collegial model of a small institution, or a traditional community college model that values a "practitioner's culture" (McGrath & Spear, 1991) rather than professional expertise and focuses upon student development rather than cognitive and intellectual development.

In its first two decades of development, the college was characterized by observers and institutional members as the quintessential community college, directing its services outward to its communities. Its reputation for community education and for harmonious labor relations was matched by its performance as noted in several reports and studies. But, the alteration of the college from a two-year institution to a four-year institution at the beginning of the decade continues to affect RVC and its entire personnel, faculty, staff and administrators. Adding to this concern over college purposes and internal relationships brought on by university-type status, college faculty and administrators are reflecting upon new labor-management relationships evolving as a consequence of the recent move of the college union to join a province-wide bargaining structure of provincial colleges.

Furthermore, while government grants in the early 1990s not only kept pace with growth but also preceded growth, the late 1990s can be characterized as a period of government restraint in funding, with an over-lay of government direction on the uses of fiscal resources. For RVC, this has meant that growth has now outstripped resources and that college operations are more directed to government priorities. The evolution of baccalaureate programs has blossomed most in the Liberal Arts, yet the government's priorities are jobs and workforce training, with education as a means to decrease unemployment and improve the economy to stimulate government revenues. While government policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, under two separate governing parities, was favorable to baccalaureate programming at community colleges, government policy in the mid and late 1990s emphasized institutional productivity and workplace skills in education, as well as closer institutional-private sector relationships and ventures. In responding to a faltering economy, the provincial government applied neo-liberal approaches to funding the public sector. Some college programs as a result have faced elimination and reduction; there is a provincial moratorium on facility construction; and base funding has been reduced with additional funds available on a competitive basis, with criteria set by government. Moreover, in order that colleges do not seek additional revenues from students to fund expansion, the government has placed a "freeze" on tuition fees. Thus, the presence of government is strongly detected within Rural Valley College.

Globalization

Table 6.1.

Themes	Manifestations
Internationalization: internationalization confined largely to foreign student enrollments; revenue generation from foreign students; Asian economy drives revenues and student numbers; largely responsible for growth and decline in English as a	Increasing student numbers over the decade until 1997/98; 175 students in 1996/97 generating $2 million revenue, up by $500,000 over 1995/96; loss of students in 97/98, over 10%; 1995/96, associate degree program in international studies,

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second language (ESL) programs-- a "roller-coaster", with loss of over 20 full-time students in 97/98; limited reference to international issues, but some curricular activities	for students looking for careers in business, journalism, government; Latin American studies courses rose from 0 in 1988/89 to 9 in 1995/96
Workforce Training: government stimulation; preparation of local community for jobs; increasing emphasis upon job skills in academic and career programs; considerable training activity, especially in basic education and preparation; not viewed as revenue generating	New institutionally-based training program captures former welfare-to-work clientele; emphasis on new skills in health sciences, with changing role of nursing--from hospital to community; programs seek competitive edge through applied experiences in Liberal Arts; students and parents show concern over employability; most training for low paying jobs; increases in contract training in the 1990s especially in business and health-related fields; contract training revenues fluctuate over the decade, with considerable drop in 1996/97; government introduces envelope funding for training--competitive
Electronic Technology: college "thrashing away at technological forces"; infusion of information technologies; large use of computers; rise of distance education, especially as government priority; increasing workload; some influence from business and industry	Internal debates about the use of technology, especially computer instruction; 1994-1997 collective agreement item on new modes or models of instruction and technological change; interactive distance education classes with other colleges; estimate of 1000 computers on campus; rise in library information technology--new management system; implementation of software system (Banner) for financial, student, and human resources management; computers and electronic technology in instruction, e.g., physics
Labor Alterations: increases in workload, result of institutional growth, increasing use of electronic technologies, new programming, and government demands for productivity; job security threats; treatment of part-time faculty improved; rights of faculty and staff protected	Faculty duties include more counseling and assessment of students; no layoff clause negotiated to protect faculty job security concerns (94-97 contract); departmental interpersonal conflicts; role and responsibilities of departmental chairs in spotlight because of devolution of work from senior administrators; centralization of services and instruction at one campus increases work for those not on that campus, e.g., travel; Science faculty workload altered (94-97 agreement); loss of faculty in program areas because of low enrollments (e.g., ESL); union pursues issue of contracting out bargaining unit work and non-union status of instructors in non-credit area; equal pay for equal work; sexual harassment and personal harassment are contract clauses in the 90s
Productivity and Efficiency: driven by provincial government policy and funding behaviors and tied to accountability to and control by government; institutional efforts are disconnected, with growth in student numbers equated with productivity and programs cuts as efficiencies: "we live in an age of down-sizing"; shared governance difficult for efficiency; change from pedagogical considerations to business practices; entrepreneurial wing of the college developed: programs distant from market are marginalized	Government restricts funding and pressures college to seek partnerships with private sector and to increase efficiencies; college drops programs (e.g., office careers) and merges departments; adopts distance education; curriculum affected, for example physical sciences not growing; government strategic plan "wants faculty to work harder" and "produce more students"; pressure on faculty "to have maximum numbers of students"; continuing and community education division is revenue generator; non-credit courses that are not cost-recovery are "axed"; also courses that do not generate revenues or are not high prestige are vulnerable and suffer

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	cuts, such as disability programs and other programs targeted at the less-advantaged
Public sector funding constraints: perception of decreasing government support; gov't funding does not keep pace with growth; college personnel seek other sources of revenue; budget alters programming and organizational actions; gov't restricts college revenue generation; federal-provincial financial transfers affected college; federal and provincial deficits and debts and reduction plans affect public sector spending; college members indicate that reliance on government grants is diminishing, but financial statements do not support a significant shift or even loss of revenue, except in 1996/97.	English as a Second Language programs lost $250,000 in 1998 that previously came from federal government; in 1988/89, 72% of college revenues came from provincial government sources: in 1995/96, the figure was 71%, and in 1996/97 the figure was 70%--not including significant revenues from government competitive programs; this 3% difference was made up and exceeded by the percentage of tuition fees as a source of revenue; programs compete internally for resources
Restructuring: solves personnel problem; accommodates growth and shrinkage; departmental or unit alterations; centralization of administration and services; roles of units and groups "in flux"; new alignments	Elimination of position of Dean of Education Support and integration of units within that area with other areas, particularly with instruction: viewed initially as providing more "autonomy", "increasing [the] voice" of staff; later view of mixed success; growth in Liberal Arts area led to separation of Social Sciences and Humanities--now more "autonomous"; created new managerial position--Dean of Science and Technology; loss of jobs of seven full-time and part-time faculty as a result of downsizing; main campus becomes "central place", with stunted growth at second campus; growing separation between college structures and union structures; formalization of labor relations
State intervention: increasing centralized control by provincial government; government initiatives have significant effects; both federal and provincial government influences over fiscal matters; provincial government viewed as source of college's problems; government "rhetoric is not their reality"; driving colleges to increase productivity and "entreprenuership"; college dependent upon government; college lack of autonomy; government uses colleges as their instrument for social and economic development	Legislation in mid-1990s to alter mission and purpose of college--creation of baccalaureate programs--and to alter governance; massive change in college with 4 year degree programs--new faculty, new students, growth; college members "struggling" to adjust to new status and conditions; government agreement with provincial faculty association to embark upon system-wide collective bargaining; development and implementation of provincial strategic plan--"everything is driven from Charting a New Course [gov't. strategic plan]"; government introduction of performance indicators; government introduction of new funding policy--targeted funding; competitive funding; decision-making taken out of hands of local level, e.g., collective bargaining; government appoints board members who are not sympathetic to college members' vision; government emphasis upon skill development at odds with liberal education--hostile environment; government encourages privatization, e.g., ESL; funding going to narrow job skills and programs with employment goals; expansion of system by using more part-time employees
Private sector interaction: encouraged by government; pursued by college for revenue; line between private and public blurred	International student tuition fees generate considerable revenues; contracts with both private and public sectors and fees from non-credit, continuing education provide revenues; these non-government grant sources produced revenues as

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	high as $6 million; college personnel "hunting for dollars"
Partnerships: largely tied to revenues; government incentives; college becoming a service provider to community	Work with business and industry to place students in practica and in jobs; also partnerships with secondary schools; government funding for a Career Technical center; matching grants for new facility includes community resources and donations
External competition: driven by government through incentives to private institutions and through competitive funding to public institutions; large increase in private sector training; federal government encourages; marketplace influences college revenues	Government funding through competitive "envelopes"; federal government program in language training available for bidding by private sector; government established skills centers--competition for college; privatization of ESL--an "unfair competitive level for colleges" as college cannot compete because of unionized salaries; college losing contracts
Homogenization: funding pre-occupation leads to concern over revenue generation and enrollments, thus approaches to quantity are adopted and there are little qualitative distinctions among programs and services; provincial centralization of control also leads to homogenization as deviations from the norm are not rewarded	Growth in enrollments are rewarded, e.g., liberal arts and business, with revenues; decline or stagnation in enrollments are punished, e.g., basic education, with cuts to program; centralized bargaining formalizes relationships at the local level, and reduces autonomy in labor relations; adoption of distance education because of provincial priority not for local need or for pedagogy
Commodification: college increasingly viewed provincially and in business and industry as a provider of services; college must sell its products and services to comply with government policy	Consumer demand for choice and service; sophistication of information technologies provides alternative to college programming; "students demand flexibility and access"; college becoming more entrepreneurial, fiscally aggressive; college becoming more like a business

Four dominant behaviors signal the impact of global forces upon Rural Valley College (RVC). These include education and training, governance, financing, and labor-relations (see Table 6.1.). All of these behaviors emanate from the provincial government and its departments or agencies. To improve the economy, buffeted by international markets and economies, government policy supports and indeed promotes workforce training, higher level educational attainment, and higher level participation rates, not least to reduce the high provincial unemployment figures. The province "faces a change in interfacing with the world". Government expended millions of additional dollars in the early 1990s to support the evolution of university-colleges--four year degree granting community colleges. Rural Valley College was a recipient of a share of these funds. The outcomes of the development of university-colleges in the province, and this is the case for RVC, included massive growth in student numbers, faculty, and facilities. An unintended outcome was major growth in fields not traditionally connected to employment or job training--the liberal arts. Accompanying this growth was increasing academic professionalism and provincial faculty union power. In the mid-1990s, the government enacted legislation to alter governance structures at colleges so that faculty had not only voice in decision-making but also a partially shared role with administrators in managing the institution, as faculty were given the dominant role on an educational council, the preeminent academic decision-making body in the institution.

At Rural Valley College, alterations from a two-year to a four-year institution have led to reduced attention to the local community and greater attention, initially, to internal academic concerns and governance and management matters, such as scholarship, program credibility, and university status. It has also led to tensions among groups, as some areas have prospered and others have grown impoverished and disillusioned, reproducing in microcosm the concept of "winners and losers" characteristic of economic globalization. Thus financing is a factor of institutional change, creating both "winners and losers". But following the early 1990s efforts to establish university-colleges, government funding altered both in its *largesse* and in its *laissez-faire* approach to oversight.

Beginning in the mid-1990s, government funding behaviors were more restrictive and controlling. There was less public sector funding from the provincial government relative to institutional growth. As a share of revenue, provincial grants fell from 72% of total revenues to 69%, whereas tuition fees rose from 15% to 21% of total revenues. This suggests that public sector spending reductions meant private consumer spending increases, a clear example of the privatization of public education. Furthermore, and probably most significant, government began to fund using competitive measures--whether outcomes measures of institutional productivity or input measures for lowest cost--in order to control college behaviors and actions. Thus, Rural Valley College as an evolving, developing and growing institution in the early 1990s was required to accept and abide by government policy if maintenance of growth was to be preserved in the latter part of the 1990s. Government policy included furthering privatization of college services and increasing productivity.

Finally, labor relations moved in the 1990s from the local level to the provincial level, suggesting a system-wide approach to both personnel relations and to labor. It suggests as well that an industrial model of state control over production in education and training is evolving in the province so that the government has more control over the economy. Thus, the government, in controlling labor relations, can control labor unrest and work stoppages, not only costly to the economy but also a negative incentive for international investors.

It is reasonably clear that the provincial government serves as an intermediary force, buffering the college from direct confrontation with global forces of change and translating those forces to its own political agenda. This political agenda contains several social goals, such as increasing access to post-secondary education and training, and several economic goals, such as reducing the burden on government for post-secondary system expansion. These goals are not necessarily compatible, or at least they provide tensions and conflicts to those institutions that are coping with these goals. Conditions at Rural Valley College demonstrate the tensions between institutional growth and lower levels of government fiscal support.

Organizational Adaptation

Table 6.2.

Approaches	Manifestations
Population Ecology	Growth in local populations, especially in community served by main campus; changing provincial economy, with recession in later parts of 1990s and unemployment increases; government legislation to create university-colleges and significant growth in student enrollments at RVC, also accompanied by large growth in faculty; thus institutional change by growth, including increasing insularity and altered relationships; new student populations come with behavior problems
Life Cycles	Evolving institution, developing more formal relationships, expanding and increasing structures; increasing workload and aging employees; infusion of new faculty with development of degree programs; new faculty socialized differently from old
Strategic Choice	Maintenance of traditional structures and relationships, e.g., flat administrative structure, bargaining unit includes faculty and staff; decision to pursue baccalaureate degree status from provincial government; entrepreneurial approach of continuing education division in the 1990s to generate revenue; program development, with emphasis upon liberal arts; centralization of activity at main campus and downsizing second campus; resignation of long-term president in 1997; appointment of new president from university sector in 1998
Symbolic Action	Historically shared valued system among employees faces challenge; employees united in their belief that government is the antagonist in their struggle to maintain their growth--alliance includes board members, union members & administrators; university values of faculty as experts begins to develop within college

Accidentalism	Personal relationships among administrators carry friction and value differences; personal value system of 1990s president--belief in autonomy, informal relations, liberal education

Although the college has adapted through choices that were consistent with government priorities, adaptation was stimulated primarily by government initiatives and secondarily by growth. Thus, the external environment, in the form of the provincial government, heavily influenced college actions, and internal change, conceptualized as growth, required the college to adjust its structures and processes, such as its acquisition of resources, its hiring of 100 new full-time faculty, and its development of programs. Set against these two adaptation approaches of population ecology and life cycles were the traditional patterns of institutional behaviors and shared values of institutional members. College members in asserting the importance of their college's traditional mission of service to community and their autonomy to make decisions as a collegial institution, formed an alliance in opposition to a government they viewed as hostile: "we feel they owe us more than they give us". This alliance unites disparate groups, aiding college members in working together not only to maintain their traditional mission of serving the community by maintaining and expanding access but also to adjust to new institutional structures and processes without dysfunctional conflict. The apparently strong culture has been sustained through presidential leadership, a pattern of college behaviors since the college's inception. Both life cycles and symbolic action dominate the adaptation approaches of RVC. However, the resignation of the president of the late 1980s and 1990s in 1997 and the succession of a president from another institutional type and another province in 1998 may mark a change in how the college adapts.

Accidentalism. Relations between employees and administrators have a positive history, largely attributed to the labor relations environment at the college. This has in the past resulted in considerable unified action on the part of college members. In contrast, personal relationships among several administrators demonstrate friction and value differences, and increasingly make co-ordinated action more difficult. During the 1990s, the personal value system of the president--belief in autonomy, informal relations, liberal education--drove college strategy, and worked at balancing the various opposing values of administrators.

Strategy

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Table 6.3.

Description	Intended Outcomes
Develop and offer 4 year degree programs in the Arts and Sciences and occupational fields	Serve more students, grow, provide alternatives to university education in the local community
Maintain comprehensiveness in curriculum, that is maintain the mission of the community college	Maintain community college identity while developing into a four-year degree granting institution; continue to serve all segments of the community
Become more "entrepreneurial", more aggressive externally with the generation of funds	Finance growth; decrease dependency upon government funding
Improve and document institutional outcomes, including services, employee socialization, employee participation in decision-making	Increase productivity; help employees adjust to change; improve institutional climate and maintain healthy labor relations

Strategy at Rural Valley College contains contradictory ideas: develop into a four-year degree granting institution while maintaining the purposes of a community college and acquire resources to sustain growth and development (see Table 6.3.). These strategies are not without their impediments and contradictions. The development of a hybrid institution, merging a functioning community college with the concept of a university or four-year college, suggests clashes with differing expectations and value systems. For example, while the community college promotes egalitarianism, the university champions expertise; and while the community college's mission is expansive and multi-faceted, the university's traditional mission is three fold: teaching, research, and service. Moreover, community college faculty are both theoretically and empirically unlike university faculty, including their level of education, their social class, and their value systems (Kempner, 1990).

The pursuit and acquisition of resources by college members is a response both to perceived government deterioration in funding and to government policy and funding incentives for institutions to rely less upon government and more upon the private sector. One notable contradiction here is that government "froze" tuition fees for a three year period, nullifying the student as a source of non-government funding. Rural Valley College expanded its contract services activities, its international education behaviors which until 1997 led to increasing student numbers, and its partnerships with school districts and civic government in order to acquire more resources. But, these actions served largely to off-set not supplement provincial government funding grants, and by 1996/97, the college found itself with less revenue than in 1995/96, although about $4 million more than in 1993/94. And because of government alterations to funding--moving base grant funding money to competitive one time funding--the college could not rely upon either competitive

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funding for more than a year or upon "earned revenues" from contracts as on-going sources of funds. Thus, the acquisition of non-base funding is not compatible with the functioning of an educational enterprise, especially one that offers four-year degree programs, because the educational behaviors require a stable context over an extended time period, and the sources to support those endeavors are transitory and unstable.

Mission and Structure

Table 6.4.: Mission

Mission Alterations	Determinants
Baccalaureate degree granting; "moving toward a university model"; "re-defining what it is to be a university-college"; "becoming traditional college" in the community	Provincial government legislation; college request to government ministry; local demand; new faculty
"Losing community"; not as responsive to local needs	Establishment and development of college as university-college, i.e., 4 year degree granting
"Still a community college, will never be a four year university"	Internal divisions, e.g., between community college values and university values; faculty educational backgrounds limited; organizational members' value system
Marginalization of college areas, such as trades, ESL, Office Administration, and non-university-college programs; creation of new sub-culture-- university-college and community college	Limited resources; decisions to support degree programs

Table 6.5.: Structures

Changed or changing structures	Determinants
More independent and compartmentalized departments	New faculty in four-year degree programs; growth of institution
More administration at department level; more responsibility on department heads; evolving role of department head, both collegial and managerial	Growth; flat and small scale management structure; lack of technical expertise of administrators
Educational council and departmental decision-making committees' "moving from management-union structure to management-union and council structure"	Government legislation to create education councils; more discipline-based expertise required; larger organization leads to compartmentalization of decision-making at department level
More formal and informal attention to diversity, students and colleagues-- a "more respectful environment"	New students, awareness of diversity issues among organizational members; new formal regulations for harassment

The mission of the college is not only undergoing change but also receiving serious and wide-ranging reflection by institutional members. Divergent views on the college's mission, and indeed upon the college's identity, while apparent since the development of the college as a university-college have surfaced as the major college issue in the latter part of the 1990s. The college is developing into a new form of postsecondary institution, driven most recently by faculty in the four-year degree

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programs and their students. This new form emphasizes many of the values, traditions, and behaviors of a university. These support the advances of educational council, the central role of disciplines, growth in academic areas, particularly the liberal arts, and the diminution of pre-college programming such as Adult Basic Education. Furthermore, faculty in the four-year degree program areas question the value of a union as presently constituted to serve their interests. Present systems and structures do not necessarily fit either four-year degree program areas or an expanding institution.

On the other hand, and not tangential, the intent of faculty and administrators to maintain and preserve community college values and purposes is forceful among a large proportion of organizational members. Particularly acute among faculty in non-four-year degree program areas, among faculty located on other than the main campus, and among long-term administrators and staff, is the desire to remain a college devoted to its communities, with emphasis upon the development of the whole student not just cognitive and intellectual development.

Thus, from this perspective, the mission of Rural Valley College is conflicted, and numerous exercises from strategic planning to budget allocation are identity debates and perceived as identity decisions. Nonetheless, the college is not a fractious environment; instead, it is characterized as more tolerant of diverse views and diverse cultures than in the past. Its new role as a baccalaureate institution and the influx of new faculty from cosmopolitan environments have enlarged the community served by the college and altered both the approach to education services and the content of programs and the curricula in general.

Conclusion

College personnel are engaged in an institutional identity shift. Faculty and administrators at RVC while expressing the general view that the purposes of the institution are not altering indicate that significant structural changes occurred in the past decade with a variety of alterations anticipated in the coming years. Institutional alterations arise, most prominently, from the establishment of four-year degree programs and from legislative changes to governance, especially the formalization of an education council and related decision-making and recommending bodies. Government funding behaviors, initially supportive of degree programming in the early 1990s became antagonistic by the later part of the mid-1990s, as significant growth--approximately 100% of full-time equivalency students in a decade--was no longer propelled or even sustained by the provincial government. The government cited international economies and markets as causes of government restraint, for example the forestry and lumber industry entered a steady decline in the 1990s with resultant job losses and decreasing government revenues (Strong-Boag, 1996), a pattern echoing the 1980s which led to permanent job losses, especially in government service (Belshaw & Mitchell, 1996).

While organizational members, especially long-serving members, struggle with maintaining traditional community college principles and behaviors, Rural Valley College has evolved into a new category of institution. New structures, including programs and decision-making, and new employees, principally university-socialized faculty, have precipitated several fundamental changes to the institution. Yet, simultaneous with the evolution of RVC to a four-year institution emphasizing liberal arts, government behaviors in the mid and late 1990s are pressing the institution closer tot he marketplace. This pressure to pursue non-government revenues and to emphasize workforce training and skill development is instrumental in vocationalizing the curriculum at Rural Valley College.

North Mountain College

North Mountain College is a complex institution influenced by its relatively lengthy history and by its present growth. The institution has a long background as a two-year, denominational, liberal arts college, prior to its establishment as a publicly governed and funded institution. It has also a long serving cadre of employees--faculty, staff, and administrators, with a substantial number of faculty moving to administrative ranks. Through the 1970s and 1980s, the college possessed the image of an innovative institution, ascribed to it by its employees, given the wide-spread belief in individualized learning. In the 1980s and 1990s, college planning and college actions furthered the image of innovation, or what some refer to as "the flavor of the month", with the elaboration of a 1980s plan to increase international activities, the development of four-year baccalaureate degree programs in the 1990s, and the infusion of electronic technology into both the workplace and into the learning environment in the 1990s. In the latter 1990s, "innovation" included the embrace by institutional leaders of outcomes based learning and assessment. Additionally, the 1980s was a time of facilities growth and by the mid-1990s, college enrollments approached 10,000 credit students, with large numbers in language institutes, a music conservatory, and in continuing education programs. The college operating budget in 1997 exceeded $60 million. The college occupies one main site, where one exceedingly large building reflects not only college growth but also ample resources.

Resources, however, were an issue in the 1990s, as the provincial government of Alberta began serious public sector restraint in the mid-1990s. Touted as fiscally responsible, public sector funding restraint was also ideological, as government endeavored to decrease institutional reliance upon the public purse and increase institutional productivity and efficiency. Furthermore, government policy clearly aligned public postsecondary education institutions with economic development of the province, particularly workforce training for the private sector (Andrew & Holdaway, 1997). Thus, government funding for NMC declined from 1994-1997, and targeted funding, the use of accountability measures, named "key performance indicators", and regulations about tuition fee rises all served notice that government policy was both directive and substantial. During the same period, the government authorized selective two-year colleges in the province to offer a very limited number of four-year baccalaureate degree programs and the degree credential is referred to as "applied", so as not to transgress the rights of universities. North Mountain College lobbied to be one of these selective institutions and in the latter part of the mid-1990s began two baccalaureate degree programs, with three other programs developed and awaiting government funding.

It was during this period of government funding restraint that significant institutional change grew out of past initiatives and escalated, such as the infusion of electronic technology, and new institutional goals and strategies developed and were enacted. During government restraint, the college and its unions negotiated wage roll backs; the institution began a minor re-structuring effort; and NMC began a determined strategy to reduce its reliance upon government funding. By 1997, less than 50% of the college's revenues were from government grants. Thus, not just in plan but in execution, the college had generated alternate sources of revenue, and this was accomplished by altering structures and changing working conditions at the institution. In part, this led the college to model what many employees call a "business" organization or corporation, suggesting that college behaviors are directed, through incentives and coercion, to conform to managerial preferences and goals. In this way, the college is viewed as imitating the business and industrial environment of its geographical location. Yet, there is also a large educational bureaucracy, a variation of a professional bureaucracy (Mintzberg, 1979), where managers--president, vice-president, deans, directors, and even program chairpersons--are the institution's professionals, or at least dominant professionals, and the bureaucratic system is co-ordinated not by rules and regulations but by committee structures where communication of strategies and actions and information dissemination ensure that institutional behaviors will conform to managerial preferences and goals.

With an immediate goal of resource acquisition, the college is not only resource dependent (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) but also resource "driven". Thus, those areas of the college that have performed the role of resource acquisitors, such as the continuing education area and the college foundation, as well as those areas that have garnered resources from student tuition fees and government grants are not just safe havens but influential in college decision-making. Their opposites--those areas which are either not productive or are a drain on college resources--are marginalized, downsized, or re-structured. Such a condition has correlated with a highly productive institution, a highly stressful workplace, but a flexible and adaptive institution. Furthermore, the behaviors of college leaders in resource acquisition have led to tensions between groups in the institution over college purpose and practices. For example, there are differing views among organizational members about the purposes of the institution: the college as an instrument of business and industry, the college as a "second chance" institution for under-prepared students, and the college as a liberal arts institution. Thus, there are numerous contested areas for organizational members, including the use of electronic technologies, especially in instruction, and the development and offering of four-year degree programs.

Globalization

Table 7.1.

Themes	Manifestations
Internationalization: connection to local business and industry; reflects local city; government promotes international context for economy; "global skills"; international activity increases, with emphasis upon Mexico and South America, influenced by NAFTA; generates revenues; affected in 1997 by Asian economies; international emphasis viewed as ignoring local needs	Workplace preparation includes skills for international competition; economically advantageous skill development; local urban environment more international, large Asian immigrant population; programming relevant to international market, such as Small Business and Entrepreneurship; 200 international students in 1996/97 generating over $1 million; partnerships with Mexican institutions; decrease in Japanese foreign students and decreasing revenues in 1997/98; enrollment capping linked to

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	international students; ESL students include large percentage of international students; student numbers rose from 69 in 1989 to 160 in 1996 (30% Hong Kong origin and 20% Mexico in 1996)
Workforce training: college adopts new emphasis on preparation of workforce for the needs of business and industry; "educating for the workplace"; new skills, especially computer-based skills; internal attention to faculty development	Applied degree programs oriented toward employment and knowledge skill development; technical training in health sciences, computing, business, and environmental science; increase in co-op programs; faculty development including computer training, exchange programs, and leadership program
Electronic technology: Emphasis upon educational technology; new management systems; curricular impact; changing work; identity of college; government policy and funding; employee training; "market driven", "skews curriculum"; information technology "gone through the roof in the past five years"; productivity issue	Faculty development and incentives to use technology in instruction--creation of academic development center, faculty given computers; community study on use of technology in college led to policy on technology as an enhancement of traditional instruction; college accountable to government through a technology plan; college positions itself as "technically fit"; "everything was manual, now computerized, quicker, faster"; increased use of distance education, especially in health sciences; faculty opposition to unfettered use and over-use; Banner system initiated and evolving for financial, human resources and enrollment management; "Banner has completely turned our world upside down; we are not the same place as we were a year ago"; use distance education to provide service to ever-increasing enrollments; demands from employers and students that students possess computer-related skills; problem of employee skill level to cope with new management systems and to instruct students in advanced computing; technology drives curriculum, e.g., large writing classes; no specific programs in high technology
Labor Alterations: increasing work generated by electronic technologies, institutional growth; workforce diminution in areas; government requirements for increased productivity; institutional "entrepreneurism"; intervention of government by decreasing funding and college response of negotiating a salary roll-back; "volume-oriented worker bees", "tired", "threaten to retire"; faculty "overwhelmed with expectation" for upgrading in electronic technologies	Employees feel "submerged", "buried"; increased volume of work, "excessive number of students", and fewer support staff "cause a massive increase in stress"; contracting out of services such as print shop work and food services; decreasing percentages of full-time faculty; decrease in counseling staff; increasing work and responsibilities evolving for department and program chairs; collective agreement alterations including job sharing, early retirement incentives; labor unrest, include "work-to-rule" by faculty; salary reductions; efforts to unionize faculty in non-credit area; faculty development, a "post tenure" review program
Productivity and Efficiency: Government policy and funding behaviors drive; business and industry drive government; technology a major influence and a means; institutional values-- "kill ourselves trying to make NMC a better place"; "doing more with less"; changing to outcomes-based learning for better measures of productivity	Decrease in government grants/student from 1994-1997; student growth during period of government fiscal restraint; productivity and evidence of productivity required for government funding--key performance indicators; increases in class size (e.g., from 20 to 30 in Sciences in the 1990s); programming altering to achieve productivity; re-organization of departments to encourage "entrepreneurial" activity; "new organization of student services"; use technology to achieve efficiency, such as Banner for

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	management systems and distributed learning for instruction; government funding directed to more student places with same funding level; emphasizing skill acquisition of students--measurable
Public sector funding constraints: decrease in provincial grant, 1993-1996; greater reliance upon students to pay for their education; program vitality and maintenance depend upon money; programs viewed as either financial liabilities or as "cash cows"; shifting program emphasis; assumption and impetus of long-range plan to rely less upon government funding	19% drop in base funding from provincial government over a three-year period; now less than 50% of college budget is provincial gov't grant funding; increase in enrollments during period; raise tuition and other fees; fees to constitute 30% of revenues--increase of 21% in 1995/96; pursue private sector revenues; re-organized programming; fundraising, in excess of $10 million; roll-back of employee salaries; later return of salaries; loss of employees; increase in part-time faculty; contracting out of services--food services and custodial services; faculty "withdraw from involvement in decision-making"; remedial education now a revenue generator; development of programs for the marketplace
Restructuring: re-organized units and re-structure in response to government funding decreases; re-organized for greater productivity and efficiency and to match business and industry requirements; privatized services	Create new centers, such as health sciences, business; create a dean's structure of administration; change curricular emphases and focus, replacing liberal arts with technology and entrepreneurship; move pre-college programs to continuing education; cut f/t faculty positions in selected areas; drop program (secretarial); reshuffled departments; "student services farmed out"; eliminated custodial and food services--contracted out
State intervention: increased government intrusion into management of institution; provincial government policy and funding behaviors emphasize productivity, efficiency, business-orientation of public institutions and favorable climate for and service to business and industry; pushed for less reliance upon government for revenues; college viewed as a preparatory school for work and adult society--emphasis upon training and re-educating adults for useful employment; driven by interests of business and industry; influence of NAFTA in mid-1990s but fading in late 1990s; college become "slave" to government	Reduce base funding; targeted funding to emphasize government priorities, introduce competition among institutions for funding; increase accountability and productivity by use of key performance indicators; establish applied degree programs but limit number and emphasize employability; special funding for technological use; establish ceiling on tuition fee raises; applied degree programs altering mission, reduced attention to pre-college programming--college "now a four-year institution"; establish new government institution responsible for up-grading; need to respond to government requirements "to get the funding"; "if government funding was tied to repainting that's what we'd be doing"
Private sector interaction: increasing emphasis upon business and industry; college increasing behaving like a business; generate revenues; privatization of college services; private sector not that interested in college; programming geared toward employers' expectations	Contracting out--food services, custodial services; fund-raising program to raise $15 million; "unrealistic expectations of employers" so that college cannot satisfy; applied degree programs intended to serve private sector; increase in skill development in curriculum; customizing services to attract students and employers; change to competency based education underway; emphasis upon technology to satisfy marketplace requirements; emphasis upon "more vocational training--fuzzy skills, for the new economy"; rise in service oriented professions and college responds--information technology, business-related programs; college managers re-defining liberal education; adding global perspective to

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	curriculum; growth in customized training; programs undergoing change to satisfy marketplace needs, such as interior design and nursing
Partnerships: revenue generation; efficiency; to deliver curriculum; increases business and industry connections; intrusions of business and industry in curriculum, e.g., through board, president, advisory committees	Partnership with Xerox for copiers, academic exchanges, training, and a donation; partnership with local university for delivery of health sciences program and to offer English as a second language courses; partnerships with local industry; partnerships with Mexican institutions; helps in student co-op placements; tailor courses for business and industry needs, especially business-related
External competition: Private trainers; public institutions; business and industry competes for employees	Closing of secretarial program because of competition; government policy reduces restrictions upon private trainers making them more competitive; influences delivery methods and customer services to attract students; competition for government funds among public institutions; university is a "prime competitor" for students; business and industry hire highly qualified technology workforce at salaries above college's salary levels; college employees "lured away"
Homogenization:	Curriculum altering to adjust to business and industry requirements--"employability skills"; new emphasis upon outcomes based assessment and outcomes based curriculum, require uniformity
Commodification:	Increasing customized services; selling of programs for revenue, especially pre-college and language training; applied degree programs response to business and industry needs for competitive workforce

Two vehicles serving a global environment influence North Mountain College: these include the provincial government and local business and industry (see Table 7.1.). The provincial government, through its policies and funding behaviors, endeavors to direct and coerce the college to respond and adjust to its neo-conservative approach to the economy and increasingly neo-conservative approach to social programs: debt and deficit reduction, less reliance of the public sector upon government, protection of business interests, privatization, and a market-oriented economy; as well, privatization of social programs such as education and health, work without welfare, and individual responsibility not government dependence. Local business and industry while instrumental in government policy and behaviors are internationally focused, largely because of their products and competitors. These interests also influence North Mountain College, as the college adapts its programming and its operations to suit business and industry. Thus, NMC responds through specialized workforce training in its programming and productivity and efficiency in its operations.

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The use of electronic technology, ever increasing both in practice and in rhetoric, is a primary vehicle to enact both of these responses. While students at NMC are not all, or even in large numbers, necessarily trained in the use of electronic technology, they are exposed to it through instruction and through college services. Work at NMC is undergoing significant alteration through the increasing use of electronic technology, in such areas as information management and communications. Through these alterations, NMC is becoming viewed as more business-like and corporate in its functioning. But neither education nor productivity are stimulated solely by electronic technology.

Education and training are affected by ideology, evident in government policy, business practices, and college administrative behaviors and articulations. The establishment of the four-year applied degrees programs is a noteworthy example. These programs are intended to suffice as high level training for a "competitive economy": they serve the needs of business and industry; they satisfy government expectations; and they increase both the status and the profile of the college in the community. While in 1997, they constituted approximately 5% of college credit enrollments (even with a Nursing program that is part of a four-year degree program at another institution, they constitute only 10% of enrollments), they occupied a substantial part of the college's attention and its evolving identity; they serve as a contested area, a subject of conflict, between faculty and administration and among faculty groups; and they are promoted as a model of college preferences for arts and sciences education. These programs represent the reliance of the college upon business and industry not only for attracting students to the college and ultimately student placements for employment but also for industry approval of postsecondary education programming, thus acquiring the favor of this sector as well as some of their resources. The four-year applied programs further the vocationalizing tendency of postsecondary education--educating and training for jobs-- and they further stratify postsecondary institutions and their students, to the extent that traditional programs and skills in the vocations are not as valued. These four-year programs stress employability of graduates and have selective entry; they claim to train for a profession, as opposed to a trade or vocation, or even an occupation. But, they are neither liberal arts and sciences programs nor even traditional professional schooling such as engineering or law. They are suggestive of the lower end of Reich's (1992) new professional class--symbolic analysts--likely the staff or technicians for these analysts.

Organizational Adaptation

Table 7.2.

Approaches	Manifestations
Population Ecology	Local business and industry and the emphasis upon resource extraction; local city growth and changing demographics; business dominated and conservative community; relatively high education level of community; student demands for workplace skills and employment training; large increase in student population, recent high school grads and in older more demanding part-time student; government controls and influences, such as "funding cutbacks"
Life Cycles	Aging employee population; college history as a liberal arts institution; elaboration of structures based upon growth; movement of faculty "from sense of ownership to position of employees"; long-term relationships between faculty and college president
Strategic Choice	Use of technology; entrepreneurial behaviors; marketing of college; development of four-year applied degree programs; methods of management communication, co-ordination and control: ideology--conformity; psychological--motivation and therapy through airing of differences; group process--interpersonal interaction, including bonding and contests; structure--symbolic leadership and decision-making in reporting forums; college responds positively to business and industry using them as allies; responds forcefully to government, fulfilling their expectations; college chooses an image of prosperity and urbaneness, with international focus and high technology image
Symbolic Action	Large cadre of faculty with liberal arts values; president's interpretations of external environment and college "reality"
Accidentalism	Provincial economy and resource industry boom and bust: 1990s fiscal restraint as a result of debt and deficit; Japanese economy falters in mid-1990s; president's formal faculty role at institution

Although a number of factors contribute to the college's approach to adaptation, the college can be seen to favor and use a strategic choice approach (see Table 7.2.). The college, largely through its administrative group, exhibits a highly rational and strategic response to environmental stimuli, whether that be government decreases in funding or changing workplace requirements. College behaviors of decision-making entail the elaborate use of committees and advisory bodies. These serve numerous purposes, largely strategic. For example, they reinforce not only strategy but also the rationale for strategy; they suggest group acceptance of strategy; and they serve to co-ordinate labor, especially work committed to fulfill strategy. Overall, these committees and bodies suggest high levels of consultation on decisions during decision-making and prior to implementation.

College administrators are constantly adapting the institution to the environment so that no opportunity for resource acquisition is lost. Thus, what is referred to as "the flavor of the month", in response to the behaviors of the president to adopting a new approach or a new idea, is one interpretation of the college adjusting to trends--in work, in pedagogy, in programming--that might yield returns, largely fiscal returns. NMC performs at a high level in government accountability measures; the college continues to grow even in the face of serious government cutbacks to the institution; and the college curries and receives the favors of business, industry and the community, generating, for example, over $10 million in a fund-raising campaign during the late 1990s. Thus, the international pursuits and image, the embrace of electronic technologies, the emphasis upon outcomes based learning, and the re-definition of a two-year institution into a four-year institution are all part of the strategic choice approach of the institution's leaders, including its governing board members, not just for survival but for growth.

Accidentalism. The college is to some extent heavily reliant upon the provincial economy, an economy that experiences serious boom and bust cycles. In the 1990s, government fiscal restraint was attributed to the government's attack on debt and deficit. As a consequence, the government's grants to NMC fell by 20% over a three year period. Furthermore, the Japanese economy faltered in mid-1990s, and the college's strategies to pursue revenues through international education, especially in Japan and Asian, were affected. Finally, the college president had a long background as a North Mountain College faculty member, and this role as well as his continued relationships with administrators, who too were former faculty members, provided the president with not only bureaucratic authority but also professional authority (as a teacher-practitioner), supplemented with personal bonds that carried influence in professional relationships.

Strategy

Table 7.3.

Description	Intended Outcomes
Develop and offer four-year "applied degrees"	Achieve identity as an "undergraduate college"; respond to demands of business and industry; attract students; respond to public demand for credentials
Adapt and adjust to a business and industry dominated environment, including a global environment, emphasizing for example workplace preparation and high skills employment potentials	"Competitive advantage"; attract students; acquire "greater autonomy"; "merge academic and career in one program"--"fusion of work and learning"; respond to new demands of employers
Elaborate and wide-ranging committee structure, from administrative committees to college-wide committees; formal self-studies and planning initiatives	Organizational control; co-ordination of labor; feed-back system; improve processes and productivity; foster inclusion and participation; acquire data for rationalization of actions
Alter curriculum and instruction, in various areas including the promotion of the use of electronic technologies in instruction, the development of outcomes based curriculum, the assessment of student outcomes, and distance education	Satisfy external stakeholders; meet student needs; achieve greater efficiencies; and live up to reputation as "innovative" college
Respond to government initiatives and local business and industry requests	Acquire resources and promote change and growth internally
Increase and emphasize use of electronic technology in college operations	Increase productivity; adjust to external changes and expectations; improve internal communications and systems
Initiatives such as fund-raising, partnerships, international agreements, managerial priorities in work, and programming to generate revenue	Increase revenues; lessen fiscal dependency upon government; sustain and support growth

Although there is considerable debate among college employees about the value and outcomes of the numerous strategies in effect at NMC, there is wide agreement about what these strategies are at the college (see Table 7.3.). Strategies at the institutional level include the alteration of college operations so that college behaviors are more business-like, i.e., directed to outcomes and quantitative productivity, and changes to curriculum and instruction so that efficiency, productivity and market responsiveness are emphasized. In both college operations and in education, electronic technologies are increasingly used as "drivers of change" and a means to achieve efficiency, as well as for their utility as conveyors of a sophisticated image of the institution, as technologically fit. There is wide-spread agreement that the college's management is positioning the institution closer to the marketplace and modeling corporate behaviors.

In spite of these corporate behaviors, the college has maintained its tradition of

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an elaborate committee structure, associated with higher education institutions, with their characteristics of "loose-coupling" and unregulated and dynamic participation of employees in decision-making. At North Mountain College, the committee structure is both a vestige of academic governance and a quality control device. These committees are used by management to control and co-ordinate work: principally used by the president and vice-president, academic, to manage institutional strategy; principally used by other senior managers to ensure consistency and efficiency; and principally used by faculty for information exchange and the maintenance of group identity. For every administrative position, there is either a committee or an advisory body: Thus, the president has an executive committee; the vice president, academic, has a deans' council, and the vice president, administration, has a vice-president's advisory council. Deans oversee councils for department and program heads; programs have advisory bodies; and departments, programs, and academic divisions have several committees. At the institutional level, an academic council serves as the chief academic advisory body, comprised of institutional representatives, including students. This body advises the college's board of governors, which itself has several committees to advise the board as a whole. While this structure is not dissimilar from those at other academic institutions, North Mountain College administrative leaders utilize these structures strategically so that "official" or managerially sanctioned information and college management goals and work priorities are communicated in a fairly consistent way in every venue.

Finally, although the college management, the faculty and the staff lament the intrusion of the provincial government into the management of the institution, the college's official responses to government initiatives and policy have a strategic cast. First, college management uses government policy to change the organization in such ways as increasing class sizes for greater productivity and in moving the college closer to the marketplace both to attract students and to garner private sector revenues. Second, the college management responds positively to government policy and incentives to increase the use of electronic technologies both in work and in instruction: in so doing, the college gains favor and revenues from the government, pursues its goal of greater efficiency through the use of labor-saving technologies, and fosters an external image of a sophisticated institution. Third, the college management takes advantage of the government's initiative to establish four-year degree programs at selective colleges in the province. NMC strenuously lobbied government and, in achieving approval to offer four-year programs, embarked on a marketing campaign to promote the institution as a high quality undergraduate institution, placing it in competition with other four-year degree granting institutions, principally the local university. Thus, college managers have used government to their best advantage, furthering administrative interests and securing greater control over institutional behaviors.

Mission and Structure

Table 7.4.: Mission

Mission Alterations	Determinants
Four-year degree granting, "undergraduate college", but distinct from a university	Government policy; public demand for higher credentials; college management aspirations
Respond to the marketplace, "new economy skills", "applied skills"	Government mandate; management strategy; presidential vision and authority; local business and industry requirements
Emphasis upon global and international	Generate revenue; presidential strategy to raise profile of college
"Removal of remedial programs", to non-credit, self-funded	Government cutbacks; need to generate revenue; movement of institution to higher status
Emphasis upon job preparation, electronic technology, and high level skills and away from traditional liberal arts and sciences, away from "second chance" institution image	Government policy; business and industry requests; management strategy

Table 7.5.: Structures

Changed or changing structures	Determinants
New programs, applied degrees, with emphasis upon "new economy skills" and employment in fields close to the marketplace	Government policy; management strategy; business and industry requests and requirements; competition with other institutions and international job requirements
Administrative structures: deans' structure in mid-1990s; department chair, program chair, and directors' structure	Increasing numbers of students, employees, and work; expansion in four-year degree programs; pace of work escalating
Operating "like a business", no longer "social service"	Government funding reductions of mid-1990s; goal of productivity and efficiency; model local business and industry
Accountability structures added, including "performance indicators" for government	Government policy; achieve greater efficiency
Alteration to certificate and diploma programs, in some cases dropping these altogether, in other cases modifying them as post-baccalaureate programs	Changing student populations; productivity; fit to marketplace needs
Movement toward competency-based curriculum and outcomes assessment	Strategy to increase efficiency; to develop measurable outcomes for both public and private sectors; adjust to new learner needs and demands
Loss of programs, loss of faculty and staff positions	"Government reductions" over a three-year period in mid-1990s
Use of electronic technologies especially for management systems	Historical pattern of innovation; government policy and funding incentives; need for increased

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	productivity; need for increased control over college operations
Increasing use and further development of distance and distributive learning	Strategy for productivity; strategy to attract more students; learner needs and requirements
New faculty, including those with Phds, and increasing numbers of part-time faculty	Establishment of applied degree programs; financial management decisions--efficiencies
Evolution of continuing education division and movement of programs from credit side to revenue generating structures	"Government cutbacks"; drive for revenues from non-governmental sources; emphasis upon higher level programming in credit area

North Mountain College has altered its mission in the 1990s in several significant areas. Most prominent is the alteration from a traditional community college, with two-year diploma programs as the highest level of academic attainment, to a four-year college, combining attributes of a traditional community college and a baccalaureate degree institution. Although numerous faculty and administrators do not identify changes in the 1990s as more than an elaboration of the existing mission, North Mountain College is evolving into a four-year college, with emphasis upon applied not academic education, and serving vocational aspirations of students and employment needs of local business and industry.

The college is furthering its image and reputation as an adaptable, market-sensitive, globally oriented institution, through the increasing use of electronic technology, both in instruction and management, through programmatic changes, through striving for and achieving greater productivity, and through less reliance upon government grants for operations. These behaviors have assisted the college in the generation of revenues and corresponded with increasing enrolments.

Altering structures have included large increases in work for faculty, staff, and especially administrators, and faster paced work for all. Some new or modified structures, such as the electronic Banner management information system, have been attempts to keep up to increased activities and the pace of work expectations. Other structures, including Banner as well as programmatic changes, have contributed to the level of work, both its quantity and its pace. Organizational management structures alter to address growth and the requirement of external responsiveness. But these alterations are minor modifications to existing structures, and seem to do little to alleviate the problem, that is, lack of efficiency, that change is intended to address.

At issue here is the management approach to institutional work. Managers expect themselves, each other, and faculty and staff to become increasingly more productive, "doing more with less", "working to exhaustion", to fulfill a number of institutional aspirations. These include greater autonomy from government, the

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accommodation of ever-increasing growth, and responsiveness to marketplace demands. Thus, the mission of the college has altered, substantially, from an institution that provided "a supermarket" approach to programming and services to the local community to an institution that serves both society's economic producers and the labor for economic production.

Conclusion

North Mountain College is suggestive of one kind of emerging postmodern and globalizing organization, demonstrating tensions between its modern role as a comprehensive, government-funded public institution and a postmodern market-oriented, workforce preparatory four-year school, serving economic needs. Its context is important to the extent that business and industry have substantial influence upon both the college and the provincial government, whose policies reflect economic concerns and economic quality-of-life improvements. Connected to international economies--for capital, for markets, and for products--and influenced by a global economy for standards of workforce skills and productivity, local business and industry place both the provincial government and North Mountain College in a global context. Thus, NMC is required to look business-like, international, technologically fit, and market-relevant in order to gain credibility with local business and industry.

Although the provincial government's share of contributions to college operations has diminished considerably in the mid-1990s, the college is required to conform to government expectations, and these too are driven by a business-industrial and global nexus, which pushes the college further toward an emphasis upon productivity and workforce preparation, which includes the credentialing of business and industry workers up to the baccalaureate level. In embracing the ethos and requirements of a globally competitive economic environment, North Mountain College is detaching itself from its mission of educational access and a comprehensive curriculum for all adult learners. College programming is advancing toward skills development for employment, the vocationalization of curriculum, and away from academic preparation and academic studies in the liberal arts tradition.

In addition to the provincial government and local business and industry, the college president, in concert with other college managers and the governing board of the college, is also responsible for the alterations to mission and structures. In his articulations, external activities, especially in international venues, and his leadership behaviors, the college president has enacted a strategy that has led to substantial growth, programmatic change, organizational productivity, and responsiveness to the needs and interests of business and industry.

North Mountain College exhibits characteristics of several kinds of organization, including a professional bureaucracy, a rational bureaucracy, a corporation, and labor-management factory or business, among other types. This variety is both emblematic of a shifting institutional identity, for example from a two-year college to a four-year college, and a likely outcome of numerous influences upon the institution over the past decade. Certainly, the institution's history as a liberal arts college has been instrumental in the academic milieu of the institution; but, the institution's location and its proximity to an internationally competitive business community have helped to push the college to both a corporate image and business-like behaviors. The faculty at the institution are part of a certified bargaining unit, and from time to time, especially during the mid-1990s, the institution loses some of its academic and bureaucratic identity and gains a more overt political structure. Although managerial strategy has taken the college in its present directions in the 1990s, the multiple organizational contexts and organizational types of the institution act as foils for strategy, but increasingly less effective against a force that is supported by the provincial government and the leadership of local business and industry.

- Chapter 6: Globalization and the community college: Alterations to mission and structures

In both the U. S. and Canada, community colleges are cited as institutions that can meet both workforce training needs as well as societal expectations for an educated citizenry. Yet, in attempting to meet these expectations and needs, community colleges have altered missions and changed their structures in the 1990s. College behaviors and actions are pushed and pulled toward substantial organizational change. Influential in this change process are external forces. These forces include rising demands for educational access at the postsecondary level yet constraints upon resources for public sector institutions. They also include changing government policies. These policies reflect both societal and economic concerns and private sector demands for an increase in workbased training, along with business and industry specifications for skill acquisition. In addition, government policies articulate both the need for and the progress made toward efficiency and greater productivity for the public sector.

To some extent, these forces of change are part of a globalizing process. This process involves the increasing alignment of colleges, both their work and their educational programs, with the marketplace--the economic sphere where goods and services are exchanged--to meet the needs of resource providers. It includes the embrace of electronic technologies for rapid information processing and training both to compete with other institutions and to meet the needs of external constituents as well as students who depend upon the college for their future employment. Furthermore, the globalizing process affects colleges in their production processes, as work structures change in adapting to pressures from an intrusive external environment. In short, globalization is an influential component in the alteration of community college missions and structures.

Historically, as a national or international movement, community colleges articulated a mission to serve the underserved, to provide education to the disadvantaged, and to offer a second opportunity for adults to receive education and training. Several organizational behaviors exemplified the articulated mission of the community college. These included institutional responsiveness to community needs, a comprehensive curriculum, and the realization of the principle of access to educational and training opportunities (Dennison & Gallagher, 1986; Levin, 1997; Roueche & Baker, 1987). In spite of those who challenged the merits of the community college mission (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Clowes & Levin, 1989; Dougherty, 1994; Richardson, Fisk, and Okun, 1983), these and others, including both scholars and practitioners, who wrote and spoke about the community college mission implied a widely accepted concept of the community college, suggesting that the institution was unchanged not only from the 1970s to the 1980s but also into the 1990s.

Nonetheless, by the mid-1990s, references to mission were usually associated with economic and employment issues. Griffith and Connor (1994), while adhering to institutional characteristics of open access and responsiveness, argued that the principal mandate of the community college was to train a U.S. workforce for global competition. Others have supported this shift in mission (e.g., Roueche, Taber, & Roueche, 1995). While the community college mission may have altered over the past two decades, few, if any, of these writers and scholars have commented upon the specific impact of globalization and other external forces acting upon community colleges, preferring instead to prescribe the mission focus of the community college, as if mission and organizational actions were entirely the products of internally generated actions.

Part of Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the seven colleges, individually, with respect to alterations of mission and structure. In this chapter, mission and structure alteration is addressed from the perspective of all the colleges together. Nonetheless, examples from individual colleges are provided as well.

Alterations to Mission and Structures

In the seven colleges in this investigation, college missions and structures altered in numerous and substantial ways. City Center College narrowed its curricular focus and became a more specialized institution, responding to local community needs and local populations. Rural Valley College enlarged its mission, but to a higher level of credential--to the baccalaureate level--placing pressure upon the lower levels, including vocational and preparation levels, to compete for resources. Pacific Suburban Community College expanded its mission in serving greater diversity among its students, especially Asian ethnic populations, but narrowed its focus in curriculum, moving away from remedial education. Suburban Valley Community College became more learner and customer focused in its rhetoric but more limited in its curricular offerings, curtailing adult basic education, advancing high technology fields and down-playing English as a Second Language training. City South Community College while continuing to maintain its role as a vocational trainer, became more focussed upon services to students and upon fulfilling its self-proclaimed multi-cultural role, including affirmative action in hiring employees. North Mountain College in seeking a higher profile as an advanced educational institution and in associating itself more closely with business and industry, altered its curricular focus, moving away from upgrading and toward applied degree programs and higher level skill development. Finally, East Shoreline College became, de facto, a university, perhaps a hybrid type, but a university nonetheless. Although the college maintained its community college mission it expanded that mission to include not only baccalaureate degree curricula but university values and behaviors, such as professional authority and formalizing the role of scholarly research.

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) suggest that institutions are influenced by those agencies, organizations, businesses, industries, groups and populations that provide resources. The more the institution depends upon these resources, the more vulnerable and susceptible the institution is to external controls by resource providers. Slaughter and Leslie (1997), in applying resource dependency theory to universities in four countries in the 1990s, saw research institutions increasingly dependent upon the private sector. For the colleges in this investigation, government--state and provincial--was the major resource provider and the resources government provided were critical for the existence and maintenance of the colleges, even though these resources were either diminishing or not expanding with growth. Government behaviors directed colleges to the marketplace, particularly toward the needs of business and industry.

But government was not the only resource provider of consequence. At Pacific Suburban Community College, for example, local industry provided students with jobs, and the state economy with its number one industry, tourism, was influential in the actions of the college, including the provision of contract training for the industry and the increased development of the culinary arts program.

Furthermore, these colleges were coerced into specific kinds of behaviors because of their institutional field and the role of government in this field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Government policy and government funding behaviors influenced organizational behaviors, for example adding and financially supporting baccalaureate degree granting programs at Rural Valley College, East Shoreline College, and North Mountain College. Government at the state and provincial level was also responsible for affecting institutional decision-making through governance processes. In one state and one province, government alterations to governance influenced organizational behaviors, including group and unit relationships, especially at Suburban Valley Community College, and the role of community members and employees in college decisions, specifically at City Center College, East Shoreline College, and Rural Valley College.

To what extent did globalization play a role and what was the nature of this role in affecting and altering colleges? It is clear that the presence of a global economy, especially during periods of recession, affected governments which in turn affected colleges. This is especially noteworthy in Hawaii, where the economic sluggishness of the Japanese economy in the early 1990s affected state tourism and the state's economy. This impact was instrumental in alterations to Pacific Suburban Community College, where the college mission contracted and remedial education was moved from credit to non-credit status to reduce a financial burden on the college. The overall buoyancy of the Asian market in the 1980s and 1990s, however, stimulated colleges to pursue international education in the Pacific Rim to generate revenues. This was evident at East Shoreline College, City South Community College, and Pacific Suburban Community College where bringing international students to the campus in the first two institutions was a major activity and developing programs for other countries was viewed as an important revenue potential in the third college.

The use and impact of electronic technology were among the most characteristic aspects of globalization: this technology advances globalization and as well is a product of globalization. More rapid communication, increasing connections between geographically dispersed locations, the movement of increasingly more information, and an imagescape where identities become more homogenous, where the global and the local are interchangeable, and where differences (e.g., time, space, ideologies) diminish, are aspects of globalization (Appadurai, 1990; Carnoy et al., 1993; Rifkin, 1995; Robertson, 1992; Tapscott, 1996). The impact of electronic technology on the colleges was evident and especially prevalent at one U. S. college, Suburban Valley Community College. In this college, the perceived demand to keep up and indeed move ahead of other institutions in technology was rooted in institutional image. The college endeavored to establish or maintain its reputation, locally and nationally, as an advanced educational institution and a leader in innovation and quality education. College leaders viewed technology as an answer to problems of efficiency and productivity, and saw technology in the form of distance education as a potential generator of revenues from international locations. In a similar vein, technology was viewed as a problem-solver and as a reputation-builder at North Mountain College. Yet at both institutions, there was disagreement between large numbers of faculty and administrators over the educational value of using technology and over labor-management issues such as control of instruction and displacement of the workforce.

The impact of globalization and institutional responses to globalization are context specific, dependent upon institutional context. Institutional contexts--history and culture, governance, and geographical location--serve as filters, even interpreters, of globalizing trends. Such trends include the external demand for greater efficiency in the teaching and learning process, the demand for technologically current graduates, especially in computer use, and demand for increased speed in both work activities and institutional response. History, culture, and governance also impede and constrain globalization.

The historical reputation of City South Community College as a vocational institution and the patterns of behaviors within the organization, as well as behaviors of district officials aimed at the college, have slowed change at the institution. While the college's members endeavored to respond to globalizing forces, such as changing employment patterns, the institution's self-defined image tended to impede the college from moving away from past patterns of behaviors and past memories, including the consequence of the actions of a former president during the early and mid-1990s. Even though the college was not progressing well as a vocational institution, organizational members continued to view the institution as vocationally-oriented. Declining enrollments, decreases in state appropriations for the college, and changing student populations, to some extent, forced the college to change its mission; nonetheless, the mission as a social construction--that is, how organizational members conceive of their mission and how they enact and play out their beliefs and conceptions--has remained largely intact from the 1980s.

History for City Center College is one of the institution's defining characteristics. Its economic stability was in doubt for part of the 1980s and the 1990s. Its organizational structure prior to the mid-1990s included another campus, a large campus with a program emphasis upon academic and occupational programs, including university transfer, computing, business administration, and nursing. In the mid-1990s, the college became two institutions, with City Center College focusing upon basic education, vocational programs, and English as a Second Language as dominant programs. Its financial problems, largely resolved in fact, continued to play a role in the late 1990s in influencing organizational behaviors to the extent that college members continued to view themselves and their institution as on the precipice of financial collapse.

Context for City Center College also includes the college's urban setting and its local population, heavily comprised of immigrants. As noted in Chapter 4, immigration to the college region averaged 30,000 people per year in the 1990s. It is this immigrant context that has connected City Center College to the process of globalization. These immigrants in the local population and in the college community are influential in driving college curricula, college activities and college services. Largely a process of cultural globalization, immigration, especially from Asian countries, has reinforced the local orientation of City Center College and further defined the college as a language training and basic skills development institution. In contrast, the financial history of City Center College and the repercussions of that history have removed the college from the domain of economic globalization and the domain of information. (These domains are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.) Aside from its focus upon a local community, City Center College maintains a predominantly internal focus. Its organizational members discuss and act around internal issues, from union-management relations to administrative and campus re-organizations. The mission for the institution has become entrenched and organizational change does not relate to institutional mission but more often to personnel matters--such as the coming and going of administrators, as a consequence of their changed employment status.

Pacific Suburban Community College inhabits an island environment and is influenced by its historical development and its connection to the state's university. The college is formally and operationally part of a university system, and faculty at both community colleges and the university campuses are members of the same collective bargaining unit, a situation that is rare if not unique in higher education in the U.S. or Canada. PSCC's connection to both the state, through the state government, and to the university system figures prominently in both the historical development of the institution and in organizational behaviors in the 1990s. Furthermore, the geographical, social, and economic context for Pacific Suburban Community College, specifically its location in the Hawaiian Islands, has helped to shape college life--including college behaviors and members' perspectives and attitudes--and to influence college growth and development. Globalization has been a concept intimately connected to the college's environment for its entire period of human habitation, and this connection was evident in college behaviors, from its focus upon the South Pacific to its vulnerability to state economic downturns.

Aside from the variation among the colleges based upon their contexts, several common interpretations and responses--such as those based on institutional dependency upon government funding sources and those which are connected to both the access mission of the community college and the expansionary or growth predisposition of these institutions--suggest that the very characteristics of the community college as a responsive institution predispose and condition institutional responsiveness to globalization. Thus, the very qualities of the community college advance globalization.

That is to say that the foundational values or principles of the community college (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Dennison & Gallagher, 1986; Dennison & Levin, 1989; Roueche & Baker, 1987), particularly the value of access and the principle of responsiveness, can be seen as bedrock for these seven institutions. Access has altered but access continues to be a major rationale for both government policy and institutional actions. Distance education and the use of electronic technology are viewed as vehicles for maintaining and expanding access. But somewhat counter-productively, the emphasis upon more advanced studies, such as baccalaureate programs, has limited access at the less advanced levels. Some of this outcome is a consequence of limited financial resources and choices and decisions about how to expend these resources.

North Mountain College and Suburban Valley Community College respond aggressively to local business and industry. East Shoreline College responds not only to its local community but also to a broader community including the province and international governments and institutions. East Shoreline pursues growth, mission expansion, and new sources of revenues.

Responsiveness, too, has altered to the extent that colleges have increased their responsiveness to business and industry, as well as to government demands, and decreased their responsiveness to local citizens who are not credit students and non-business and industry groups within the community. The shift of continuing and community education to a cost-recovery or profit outcome is complete. Furthermore, educational offerings formerly addressing the needs of lower socio-economic students and those in need of remediation, such as English as a Second Language and Adult Basic Education, once part of credit offering, are now finding their way into the non-credit areas where they are offered with financial motivation.

The implications of globalization for and the impact of global forces on community colleges, as well as for other similar higher education institutions, suggest that these institutions are instruments of the marketplace, even if provincial and state governments appear to be dominant influencers. First, community colleges can be thought of as producers of goods and services. Second, in their productive capacity, these institutions behave as business organizations, dependent upon the marketplace (e.g., for customers), and influenced by market ideology. And thus, following from their productive role and their dependency upon the marketplace, community colleges have accepted and reflect changing modes of production, including the widespread use of electronic technologies, labor alterations, and competition with other similar producers.

- Chapter 7: The buffered or buffeted institution: Globalization and the community college

The implications of globalization for higher education are varied, yet significant. Two prominent implications involve areas of work and education. For institutions of higher education, globalization processes both accompany technological changes, assisting in the transformation of academic work (Aronowitz & Di Fazio, 1994), and situate institutions closer to the marketplace, especially in fields connected to techno-science (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Furthermore, education is vocationalized, and training is driven by the demands of business and industry. With business and industry increasingly international in focus, dependent upon global capital, global markets, and a globally defined labor force (Teeple, 1995), higher education institutions in following government and public policy toward competition and consumerism adopt private sector practices and begin to function as corporations (Ralston Saul, 1995; Ritzer, 1998; Teeple, 1995). In order to be competitive, these institutions emphasize efficiency and productivity in work and market responsiveness and relevancy in education.

As this chapter will show, community colleges are buffered from direct interaction with their external environments to the extent that government policies and funding behaviors, collective agreements between management and labor, institutional structures such as governance committees, federal regulations, and the like separate societal and global actions such as a recession in Asia or a downturn in the North American forestry industry from the colleges. These external actions are mediated by others, and the colleges become subordinate to external players, reactors to others' actions. In reacting, colleges focus on internal mechanisms, internal politics, internal personalities and members' personal preferences, unaware at times of the global forces acting upon their institutions or indeed experiencing government behaviors which are themselves responses to globalization. Not all colleges, however, are distanced or protected from their external environments; and, furthermore, colleges protected from some conditions, such as state economic recessions, are not protected in others, such as demographic changes as a result of refugees and immigrants.

Colleges are buffeted by external forces, including global forces such as changing global economies, the rise and expansion of new technologies, the demands of government for greater productivity and efficiency, the changing workplace with its emphasis upon global competitiveness, and the movement of recent immigrants and refugees from Asia, the former Soviet Union countries, and war-torn Balkan countries to communities surrounding these colleges. In almost contradictory fashion, community colleges are both buffered and buffeted institutions, buffered from a global environment and buffeted by global forces.

Data Analysis

As noted in Chapter 3, analysis relied upon globalization theory, with the goal to identify motifs and themes that help to explain both the effects of globalizing forces and how the globalization process affects college behaviors. Interview data, document data, observational data, and institutional questionnaire data were analyzed using an analytical framework drawn from globalization literature. Data were coded according to the categories noted in Figure 7.1, drawn from globalization literature (e.g., internationalization, public sector funding constraints, and commodification). Procedures for coding and then drawing conclusions followed the advice of Miles and Huberman (1984).

Category		Abbreviation Code
A.	Internationalization (e.g., students, curriculum)	[I]
B.	Workforce training	[WT]
C.	Electronic Technology--real time communications	[ET]
D.	Labor alterations (e.g., additional work)	[LA]
E.	Productivity and Efficiency	[P/E]
F.	Public Sector funding constraints	[LPS]
G.	Restructuring	[R]
H.	State intervention	[SI]
I.	Private Sector interaction	[PR]
J.	Partnerships	[PA]
K.	External competition	[HOM]
M.	Commodification	[COM]
N.	Marketplace	[MRK]

Figure 7.1: Globalization Categories

Following coding according to the globalization categories, data were arranged within four major thematic areas: economic, cultural, informational and political (referring to the state). Ultimately, the themes were examined for their association to work and to education. For example, within the thematic category of economics, behaviors and actions of productivity and efficiency pertained predominantly to work; behaviors associated with commodification of education and training pertained to

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education. Other behaviors and inputs pertained to both work and education, such as state intervention. Furthermore, themes, such as economics, can be derived from inputs or influences on institutional behaviors, such as public sector funding constraints, or from outputs in the case of institutional behaviors where workforce training programs are responses to demands. The four themes are referred to as domains of globalization
(see Figure 7.2).

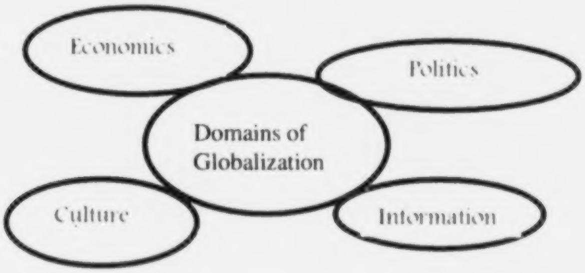

Figure 7.2: Domains of Globalization

Influences of globalization

Globalizing forces and the globalization process have impacted community colleges. One prevalent domain is the economic domain, where a global economy affects state revenues which in turn affect colleges through government funding alterations and policy initiatives. A second domain is cultural, where local populations reflect international cultures and are a consequence of international events, such as wars and political re-alignments. Electronic technology signals a third domain--information, including acquisition, dissemination, and the structuring and management of both acquisition and dissemination.
Aside from these three domains is the presence of the state--politics--in the organizational behaviors of colleges. The role of government in the behaviors and

actions of colleges, however, is conditional, related to both the nature and severity of influence of global forces upon colleges. Under some conditions, government policy and actions detach colleges from direct impact of globalization; in others, government behaviors place colleges in the vortex of global forces.

The economic domain

Colleges are connected to global economies largely through state and provincial governments, through industry, through local employment conditions and patterns, and through workplace needs. Funding for these colleges relies upon two principal sources--government and local students. Colleges are altering this dependency to some extent, first by generating revenues from private sector training and service and second by recruiting international students and securing work contracts with business and industry, as well as with government and institutions in other countries. College efforts to date in generating revenues locally are more successful with government or government agency contracts than with the private sector. International revenue generation is growing but there are hurdles and hazards, such as problems with costs relative to revenues, and especially with fluctuations in international economies.

Employment conditions and workplace needs are complex in their effects upon colleges. The truism for higher education that in times of unemployment enrollments rise and in times of high employment, enrollments decline is not borne out by data from this investigation. Nonetheless, in some employment areas where there is heavy demand for workers, such as computer fields, health sciences and business, enrollments rise and college actions are directed toward providing resources for these program areas. Workplace needs that require basic skills, including English language proficiency, place pressure on colleges to provide instruction in these areas. Student demand appears to dictate this pressure. And, workplace needs that require specialized skills, such as computer or managerial skills, have altered college curricula through the influence of program advisory groups, company or corporate officials, and faculty and administrators who interact with employers and observe the workplace.

Greater productivity and efficiency, as a consequence of lessening state support for education, were prominent influencers upon organizational behaviors at Suburban Valley Community College. Actions of re-structuring and increasing workloads for college employees were connected to the drive for increased productivity.

Furthermore, even though there were limitations to state supported education, the state was viewed as increasing its influence in college operations. In the latter part of the 1990s, the state instituted performance indicators for monitoring and evaluating college outcomes, although these were largely in the form of quantitative measures such as increasing student numbers. These indicators were intended to be tied to funding, so that increased funding would depend upon increases in measures of productivity. Thus, the state influenced college behaviors because the college was dependent upon the state for revenues.

Economic benefits accrued to SVCC by offering education as a service. The college developed and offered specific training for local business and industry; and the college relied upon distance education delivery, both to serve local needs and to position itself as a provider of education via distance education for a national and international market. Thus, education became a commodity.

Suburban Valley Community College also relied upon other, non-government, funding sources and worked to increase productivity and efficiency, including selecting and expanding program offerings in high demand areas. As a consequence of less than adequate funding from the state, there were union-management tensions over salaries and over the demand for greater productivity. In the 1990s, there was a layoff of staff and elimination of positions; equipment in established instructional areas (e.g., Science) was perceived as obsolete; and there were incentives for early retirement to decrease salary commitments.

At City South Community College emphasis upon productivity and efficiency, especially in the face of declining revenues, increasing accountability from government, decreasing program demand, and changing workplace requirements had several effects of substance upon the college. The re-structuring effort of 1995 was a response to what the president viewed as "global forces of change" impacting the college. This effort led to outcomes not unlike those experienced within the larger corporate area of U.S. business and industry--downsizing and layoffs, greater loss of revenues, mission alteration--and greater dependency upon resource providers as well as an increased focus upon the private sector marketplace. The 1995 re-structuring action was intended to help the college respond better to changing workplace needs. In 1997, college personnel were baffled by the rationale for the restructuring, with many viewing the outcomes as negative, such as altered work relations among workers and between workers and administrators and the de-professionalization of faculty by organizing them into "teams".

Although highly influenced by global forces, City South Community College was closely connected to intermediary organizations and systems and these impeded, even determined, college responsiveness. The college was on the one hand reliant upon the performance of the local aircraft industry internationally: too much economic activity from this sector, however, meant that there was employment and no need for pre-employment training; too little economic activity and the need for trained personnel diminished. The industry demanded specific training outcomes; the college fit the curricula to the industry but program graduates were not hired in large numbers in the field. For example, from 1990-1994 fewer than 25% of program graduates in Aircraft maintenance were hired (out of a total of 181 program graduates) in their program field, according to college records.

Internally, East Shoreline College emphasized productivity and efficiency, with larger class sizes, fewer administrators, and more reliance upon electronic technology for work: actions intended to cope with budget shortfalls. Commodification of higher education can be seen in the exportation and selling of both training and education in Asia, South America, and Europe: this exchange of goods and services for revenues was intended to support institutional growth. The college also turned toward workforce training, not so much in providing vocational programs to students, but in providing skills and job specific training to employers and by emphasizing job skills in baccalaureate degree programs. Additionally, privatization grew, with for example the establishment of an international, private secondary school drawing resources from private citizens in Asia, particularly Japan. In this environment, the college has created "winners" and "losers", imitating global economic behaviors.

Pacific Suburban Community College was increasingly an object, a victim even, of economic globalization as others' economies (e.g., California in the early 1990s and Japan in the later 1990s) had a significant bearing upon college actions. The state economy, as several organizational members observed, had a pervasive influence over college behaviors and actions: "everything pales in comparison to the economy". This economy was dependent upon tourism and its related spin-offs, such as retail merchandising. State tourism was declining as were the revenues associated with this industry. The state was vulnerable to international economic shocks, and the college was in turn vulnerable to the state and its economic performance.

For Pacific Suburban Community College, declining state revenues and a declining economy affected organizational behaviors, and managers placed greater emphasis upon cost cutting and revenue generation. Productivity and efficiency were emphasized in the mid and latter part of the 1990s, including increased worker productivity and greater institutional attention to student outcomes. The college along with other community colleges in the state was not only permitted to keep tuition revenues but also to raise tuition. There were increases in tuition fees of 75% from the 1995-97 period. Remedial education programs shifted from credit to non-credit, enabling the college to use non-credit instructors and increase fees. Distance education delivery was used for efficiency; administrative operations were streamlined; and positions were reduced. In order to generate revenues, the college moved closer to the marketplace, to the private sector, to generate revenues. This action included greater attention to training and to providing services for local business.

The cultural domain

Immigration and local population demographics affect college services and programming as well as college mission orientation. The local population that confronts each college is the primary service area of the institution, although two of these colleges have aspirations to serve a much larger area. The wave of immigration to the West of the U. S. in the past decade--from Southeast Asia and from the former Soviet Union, in particular--has altered the communities that the colleges occupy. Not only are there cultural changes in these communities but also growing populations of non-native English speakers or second-generation immigrants whose native language may be English, but English is not a language of competency. Colleges have altered their emphases upon culture, becoming more attentive to cultural differences, more pluralistic in their approach to both formal and informal governance, and more responsive in curriculum and instruction to multi-cultural needs. Additionally, cultural awareness and sensitivity have become important qualities in international initiatives for colleges to secure work contracts and recruit students.

Pacific Suburban Community College expanded an already substantial international focus, yet the college simultaneously served the needs of its local students by its emphasis upon multi-culturalism. While the emphasis on international education had instrumental value--it was intended to attract students and increase enrollments--it had cultural value for organizational members, who were fervent proponents of maintaining a cultural mosaic, both in college student demographics and in curriculum. Thus, cultural events on campus, such as International Week, and courses and programs that had cultural components and multi-cultural orientations (e.g., culinary arts, humanities, languages, business) were viewed as integral to college behaviors and actions. At Pacific Suburban Community College, the global was local because of student demographics, with the college as a minority-majority college (i.e., visible minorities were the largest class of students on campus), with the local community as multi-ethnic, and with the state populated by large numbers of people with Asian origins or ancestry.

"Multiculturalism" was a persistent term used at Suburban Valley Community College, and was used in a variety of ways to reflect not only student demographics but also institutional behaviors, including instruction and extra-curricular activities. At SVCC, there were large numbers of immigrants, especially from non-Western countries. The college responded to its student population by altering programming, curricula, and college social life to fit student ethnic and cultural backgrounds. For example, non-Western writers became more prevalent on course syllabi and extra-curricular activities included international festivals and speakers. Furthermore, new organizational structures were established, such as a college re-organization of units in the mid-1990s to reflect multi-culturalism and teamwork, and inter and multi-disciplinarity in curricula gained prominence as the college adapted to college members' understanding of "new learning needs of students", especially part-time learners and non-native speakers, and concepts of "learning in a global context", as noted by organizational members.

City South Community College was situated within a community that had not only a large immigrant population but also a changing immigrant population as the refugees--the 1970's "boat people"--gave way in the 1980s to the Chinese from Hong Kong and these groups were added to by Eastern Europeans (e.g., Russians). In the 1990s, the college placed increasing emphasis upon multi-culturalism and diversity, serving a relatively large immigrant and refugee community population, many of whom were non-native speaking students. The college added (in conjunction with the two other district colleges) a multi-cultural course requirement for the Associate's degree in 1994 and added a cultural course requirement (e.g., Anthropology) for the degree in 1996. At CSCC, a task force on diversity was established and a diversity plan was developed in 1996/97, affecting student services and employee hiring.

The global environment connects with City Center College in the form of a large immigrant population both within the college and in the community. Included in this population are recent immigrants from war-torn countries (e.g., Bosnia), from Asian countries where the standard of living does not match Canada's, and from countries where there are relatives of Canadian citizens (e.g., Hong Kong, Korea). This population, in need of English language skills for employment as well as for citizenship and for coping with an anglophone society, drives college enrollments and programming. This population also is a large group within the overall urban community, and in serving its community City Center College must meet the needs of a highly diverse population. This suggests that a large immigrant population is influential in the college's sensitivity to multi-culturalism and diversity as well as its focus on job preparation and skills development.

The information domain

Information technologies (e.g., internet, voice-mail, fax, electronic mail) affect both instruction and institutional work, including administrative work. The emphasis by managers upon productivity and efficiency as well as the perceived requirement for organizational members to remain current or indeed "keep up" steer institutional behaviors toward increased use of informational technologies. Thus, work has altered at these colleges as a consequence of the use of informational technologies. The industrial model of work and indeed of teaching is undergoing change and stress, although the institutions still cling to that model. In order to compete for students, to compete globally for international contracts, and to satisfy external demands--those of business, industry, and other higher education institutions--college members support the increasing use of these technologies as well as the application of informational technologies in instruction. The World Wide Web, email, and intranet communications have become common structures for instruction.

The increasing use and pervasive influence of electronic technology was a major force acting upon Suburban Valley Community College. Historically, according to numerous administrators and a diverse group of faculty, the college established a reputation as an innovator and educational leader. Thus, such a role, if to be maintained, must match external expectations. SVCC adopted electronic technologies such as information technologies (e.g., e-mail, voice-mail, on-line registration) and educational technologies (e.g., Web-based instruction) to achieve recognition, nationally. Additionally, in order to attract students to increase enrollments and to gain needed revenue, the college offered what the public and business and industry expected: this included current electronic equipment, user-friendly instructional approaches, and a computer literate student. Finally, the use of electronic technology increasingly supported distance education, that delivery system which was intended not only to satisfy the needs of the public, especially the adult, working public, but also to increase productivity, or at least add to enrollment figures. The potential of distance education for revenue generation depended upon electronic technology for delivery--including on-line instruction and satellite broadcast video.

In the later part of the 1990s, there was increased use and greater integration of electronic technology into the bureaucracy at City South Community College, such as the use of voice-mail to improve customer service and efficiency. Distance delivery of education was in the formative stage, mainly through telecourses, and internet delivery was slowly integrated into instruction, with plans to expand five-fold between 1998 and 1999. Faculty, in the main, viewed distance education as a threat, especially a threat from the district office, which played a key role in distance delivery. For example, district policy on the use of electronic technology noted that the employer may monitor use. At CSCC, in 1997, there were 20 classes of distance education, with 50 FTE students. Yet, there was little development in distance education because of limited resources. Other limitations, according to organizational members, included the role of the district office, where district staff made decisions about distance education that affect curriculum on campus and externally, where institutions such as the Western Governor's University were perceived to be threats.

During the 1990s, there was a rising focus at Pacific Suburban Community College upon instructional technology, particularly distance education, with one eye on serving the local community and the state's islands and the other eye on the greater South Pacific and Asia for customers of courses and programs. By the latter part of the 1990s, information technology was expanded, driven in part by administrative efforts to improve information systems to support the administrative goal of efficiency and effectiveness. But technology was also used to alter curriculum and instruction, including program development that both uses instructional technology and trains for the use of information technology (e.g., revised curricula for Business Computer Information Systems in 1995-96). Advances were made in on-line instruction and Web-based instruction, such as Expository Writing and the Biological Sciences.

The presence of government: Politics

The behaviors and influences of governments are dualistic in regards to the colleges. Governments persuade and coerce colleges to increase their productivity, to respond to workplace and business needs, and at least to affect an accountability posture to the public. Colleges respond to workplace demands but also neglect aspects of their mission and thus their communities because their focus and their resources are directed to government priorities. Colleges endeavor to increase productivity but in so doing precipitate tensions in labor relations, where management asks for and expects, for example, faculty to teach greater numbers of students and to use technology to support their added responsibilities. In this sense, governments direct colleges to become more efficient and more oriented toward global competition. But, governments also shield or detach colleges from global forces not only by translating these forces for colleges but also by mediating between global conditions and local conditions. Governments use colleges as instruments of policy and they also protect colleges from market forces by subsidizing their operations. These actions are significant contributors to the conditions of colleges, as buffered from or buffeted by global forces.

The provincial government is the principal agent for City Center College to deal with global forces, as well as with social, cultural and political issues. The government and its agencies interpret global forces for the college, for example declining revenues as a result of decreasing exports, such as lumber, to Asian countries. CCC is the recipient of government initiatives that respond to global forces: policies on productivity and efficiency; proposals and incentives to engage in private sector partnerships; and no measurable increases in overall government grants to the college. At the same time that government constricts its fiscal support of City Center College, it increases its oversight and directing of the college. The government's interpretation of global forces is balanced with its ideology as a social democratic government. As one senior college administrator noted in an articulation that expressed the sentiments of others, "the government is schizoid, contradictory, combining politics and economics: they want productivity and efficiency but also want to protect union jobs; they also want more entrepreneurship." Government thus acts within the context of a global economy as a neo-liberal, capitalistic force trying to respond by legislating productivity and economic growth. But government also acts within the province with a socialist ideology promoting its embrace of multi-culturalism, equity, and the underprivileged.

On the one hand, the provincial government directs colleges to "freeze tuition" so that students can have access and that a lesser financial burden is placed upon students than the college deems necessary for their productivity. On the other hand, government requires colleges to seek alternate sources of revenue to public sector funds, captured from taxation. The government supports the worker, for example assists in raising the salaries of faculty unions, and yet the government asks for greater institutional productivity, which may indeed mean the displacement of workers either by technology or because of financial exigency.

At Pacific Suburban Community College, the intrusiveness of government, a condition present since the inception of the college and reported as increasingly growing, was expected by its organizational members to diminish both as a result of declining state fiscal support for the college and rising dependence upon other resource providers. The state had not moved toward greater accountability measures, likely because of its ability to control and influence higher education institutions through its fiscal behaviors and especially through its bureaucratic and funding relationships (e.g., state-wide contract negotiations for faculty, with government as a third party; state appointment of governing board members). The assumption that a lessening of government fiscal support for the college would lead to greater independence from government is not borne out by either research (e. g., Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) or by the reported experiences of other colleges in this study. Indeed, PSCC may need the state more than its expects, especially if its entrepreneurial actions do not yield their intended effects. As a board member noted, neither the university nor the colleges were economic players or global competitors and thus they might have to re-consider their future role, including educating and serving the state's population in a changed economy, one where subsistence may be a realistic condition.

Nonetheless, at PSCC, the state was accused of "micro-managing the university and college system", and college observers noted that the college was viewed as another department of state government. In short, the state government was not viewed in a favorable light by higher education system officials--"the only snakes on the island are in the government". The intrusive role and influence of government in higher education began with the governor's office: the governor not only appointed board members but also became involved in labor relations through collective bargaining. The state legislature influenced the college through policy, through funding, and through championing of specific programs: "downsizing is politically popular" noted one college official showing the impact of political behaviors upon college funding reductions from the state. Indeed, the government in the 1990s was particularly involved in college operations and actions including the governor's office which intervened and diverted a 1997 faculty strike and a state mandated tuition policy in 1995, where the college retained revenues but government operating monies decreased, in nearly equal amounts.

According to organizational members at City South Community College, the state, especially through its funding behaviors, treated CSCC as a branch plant operation, much like large corporations behave toward foreign production sites. The state established funding policies, and used targeted funding for an agenda not favorable to colleges or students, set tuition fees, used its agency to demand specific forms of accountability, and controlled collective bargaining, in part, by its state salary allocations. Educational policies that might benefit students, such as university transfer articulation policies that facilitate student mobility or support for excellence of student performance, were either non-existent or below the level of institutional consciousness as neither organizational members nor institutional documents referred to state policy that had educational salience. Finally, on the far negative side of state influence was the state's Welfare-to-Work program which from the perspective of the college was a regressive action that moved students out of the classroom and onto the streets looking for work, even below poverty level wage work. This policy was viewed as a contributor to the loss of those programs that could help students attain careers and occupations rather than temporary or unstable jobs in a global economy. The program encouraged short term training and thus detracted from the more educationally and long-term employment orientation of a two-year Associate degree programs. At CSCC, in 1998, between 500-600 full time equivalency students were categorized as Welfare-to-Work, close to 20% of the college's total student body.

At CSCC, state influence was largely fiscal, directing programs through enrollment based funding and operations through the use of performance indicators. Increased government oversight and accompanying decreases in state appropriations placed other stresses upon the institution as its enrollments in traditional vocational programs declined and enrollments in academic and other occupational programs did not rise enough to offset declines. Thus, emphasis upon increasing productivity, on competition with other institutions, and on bureaucratic procedures to conform to state demands (e.g., performance indicators) along with decreasing revenues pushed the college to the category of marginality in the "winners and losers" dichotomy of the global economy.

Although there is less government funding relative to institutional expenditures over a ten year period at East Shoreline College, there is evidence to suggest increased government influence and control over college behaviors and actions. Government funding behaviors, including productivity incentives and targeted funding for specific programs; government intervention in the collective bargaining relationship between faculty and the college, most evident in the establishment of a provincial wide bargaining structure; and government legislative action, particularly in the change to governing board composition and in the establishment of a formal body (Educational Council) to share governance with the governing board and administration have considerable influence over college actions and in the development of college structures and processes. Moreover, government permissive legislation for baccalaureate degree programs at ESC affected not only growth but also academic culture and institutional purpose.

The role of the state was evident at Suburban Valley Community College in at least two areas: college finances and accountability. The California system of education funding was based upon limits to property tax assessments. This led to a shortage of funds to support the demands of higher education. Furthermore, the state targeted funding to support specific areas of its interests, but faculty salaries were not among those interests. While college enrollments either rose or remained stable and as costs rose, government funding did not keep pace.

At SVCC, the state intervened in college management and operations through its demands for greater productivity and its requirements for increasing accountability. Mandates in the 1990s included a "pay for performance" administrative plan, enrollment fees, performance indicators, and various laws that constrained both the offering of distance education and student registration. As a major action, SVCC endeavored to increase enrollments because state funding was enrollment driven.

The buffered and buffeted institution

Colleges examined in this investigation are both buffered from their global environments and yet buffeted by global forces. Several structures aid in buffering colleges from the global environment. That is, colleges are protected and indeed detached from their external environments particularly from macro-forces such as declining international economies; and, colleges are direct participants in a global environment and are impacted significantly by macro-forces. Some college structures, such as governance and labor relations, are responsible for the buffering effects, and external structures, particularly provincial and state governments and district offices, are contributors to both buffering and buffeting effects.

The buffered college

The buffered college is detached from participation in a global environment because intermediaries translate, interpret, and react to that global environment either before the college encounters external forces or in place of the college. To some extent the buffered college is protected from extreme shocks, such as major funding reductions based upon government revenue losses. But the buffered college is also limited in its autonomy to act in response to external forces as well as impaired in its vision of those forces. The buffered college has limited control over its own actions: more specifically, internal influencers such as managers, union officials, or governing board members have little power to direct the institution in responding or adapting to its environment (Mintzberg, 1983).

City Center College is an example of a college that is largely buffered from global forces of change. Provincial government policy and funding patterns and the labor relations' structures are the more prevalent structures that buffer and to some extent insulate the college from its external environment, save its very immediate, local environment.

Except for its large, local immigrant population, Asian and Eastern European dominated, City Center College faces little direct confrontation with global forces. The college is largely bounded by other systems, agencies, and structures--from the provincial government to the provincial collective bargaining framework to the federal government's immigration department--and buffered from global forces. Instead, City Center College responds to others' responses: for example, to the actions of government funding of public institutions to cope with declining taxation revenues from industry involved in Asian markets. In the past decade, City Center College has reduced its interactions with an international and global environment, first by reducing its international education operations in the mid-1990s and second by narrowing its curricular and programming focus as a consequence of the loss of its third campus. While the international education activities reportedly did not generate expected revenues, it did focus the college outside of its community and led to international associations, training, and reputational image. In this way, the college was not as bounded by the provincial government and looked beyond its role as a social agency or community resource. Its narrower curricular and programming focus while likely strengthening its local community responsiveness limited the college's educational connection to larger scope institutions such as the local universities and detached the college from high level skills and advanced technologies that come with such programs as engineering, computer systems, and undergraduate science.

The buffeted college

Pacific Suburban Community College is an example of a college that is buffeted by global forces. The buffeted college is exposed to global forces, largely without mediation from external structures. Even the state government, and its agent the Board of Regents which has legal authority for Pacific Suburban Community College, does not shield the college from global economic forces. The college is not protected from the downturn in the Asia-Pacific economy, and revenue losses for the state government are passed on to the college by reductions in allocations. Because the college and the state are seemingly interconnected both through financial structures as well as through governance and labor relations structures, and because the state government is the principal influencer in the state (Daws, 1974), the forces that affect the state also affect the college. And, global forces have a major impact upon the state given its history, its geographical location and its economy. The buffeted college is exposed to global forces, but the college is not necessarily an autonomous entity able to construct its own responses. Its influence is limited because it is part of a larger system of higher education institutions and must respond in accord with system demands, controls, and policy.

Both buffered and buffeted

City South Community College and Suburban Valley Community College are examples of colleges that are both buffered from and buffeted by global forces. City South Community College is protected from global forces by the college district system, including two other colleges and a district office. As part of a system, City South is removed from full participation in the external environment and from the full shock of declining revenues. But, the college's historical connection to workforce training and its location where its serves a large immigrant population place the college in the pathway of global forces. A boom or bust aerospace industry, largely an outcome of global forces and events, affects college programming, enrollments, and revenues. A wave of immigrants from Asian and Eastern European countries has affected college programming--increasing demand for English as a second language--and services.

Suburban Valley Community College is buffered by global forces through both state government policy and the actions of the college's district office that absorbs some of the shocks from the environment. But SVCC is also buffeted by global forces because of its proximity to and relationship with local high technology industries. These connect the institution to a global marketplace. Furthermore, the large immigrant population and increasing diversity of students and community members help to situate the college in a global environment.

Conclusions: Work and education

Whether colleges are buffered or buffeted, or both, in all colleges, both work and education are affected by globalization. It is just that in the buffered college and in those colleges where there are buffered areas, alterations to work and education are not as heightened or extreme. Work has altered and continues to alter, aligned with the ideology of global competitiveness and corporatism (Ralston Saul, 1995). Work norms emphasize productivity and efficiency, evidenced by the increase of speed in tasks and in increasing workloads. These increases are made possible by the deployment of electronic technologies and computer-based production processes. Furthermore, work is constantly re-structured through job reduction and job creation in targeted areas to increase productivity. For faculty, productivity is achieved by serving more students and by decreasing costs, specifically labor costs, and this is accomplished by the use of part-time faculty because of their low costs and by incentives and negotiated or bureaucratic requirements for full-time faculty to serve more students.

Education has altered both in programming--that is, curriculum offerings--and in curriculum itself. Programs are added to serve the needs of the job market and not only to match government policy but also to gain government approval. With this approval, resources follow. Students are increasingly viewed and treated as customers, or consumers, engaging in training and education as private citizens with vocational needs. Curriculum moves towards skill training, justified by the need for students to acquire competencies, competencies which are valued in the marketplace and workplace. Thus, in the extreme, curriculum is economically determined: colleges gain financially by providing favored programs; students gain economic advantage by their acquisition of specific competencies; and business and industry profit with a trained or pre-selected workforce.

At Suburban Valley Community College, there was considerable complexity over the primary, articulated role of the institution--to educate and train students. This complexity involved, for example, the outcomes of instruction and the extent to which education and training were responses to learning needs or to the values of business and industry and the expectations of government, whereby education and training were more inculcation of acceptable behaviors to serve employers, rather than the needs of individual learners. A palpable tension was present within the college between the drive to increase enrollments in order to capture greater state funds and the desire to maintain a high profile image as an innovative, prestigious institution. This tension was evident in the conflicts over staffing the Technology facility and in hiring full time faculty for the Arts and Sciences. Some organizational members attempted to mollify the tensions by promoting technology as the vehicle of access, the means of improving student learning, and as a strategy to increase enrollments and thereby gain the needed fiscal resources to support education.

In this light, community colleges reinforce globalization, likely reproducing its attentiveness to economic, material emphases and its neglect of both social relations (Teeple, 1995) and the public good (Ralston Saul, 1995). But not completely and not always. Globalization also brings cultural integration (Waters, 1996) and promotes a conception of the world as a single place (Robertson, 1992) where diverse individuals and groups connect. Through emphasis upon multi-culturalism (Gaff, 1992) in both institutional activities and in curriculum, City South Community College, Pacific Suburban Community College, and Suburban Valley Community College place cultural understanding at the forefront of their practices. Although one motive in colleges' emphasizing multi-culturalism is economic--attract more students--another motive is pedagogical if not moral--fulfill the needs of learners. Thus, while multi-culturalism is associated with globalization, it is not synonymous with economic globalization or with corporatism (Ralston Saul, 1995) or with McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1998), two conditions referred to in examinations of globalization which have negative connotations.

Furthermore, praised patterns of decision-making in a globalized economy focus upon network structures, adhocracy, collegiality, and reliance upon experts and expert systems. Hierarchical structures are viewed as inadequate and obsolete. As traditionally bureaucratic and hierarchical institutions, community colleges may be heading toward substantial alterations if the examples of some of this investigation's institutions are followed by practitioners. Particularly noteworthy are governance alterations in the province of British Columbia in the 1990s and the evidence from City Center College, Rural Valley College, and East Shoreline College where organizational members repeatedly acknowledge significant changes to decision processes and structures.

Moreover, government legislation in the mid-1990s formally established a role for college faculty, support staff, and students in decision-making in British Columbia colleges. The legislative alteration clearly moves these groups from an advisory-only role to a decision-making role. The legislation provides for an educational body with powers that not only parallel the administrative bureaucracy but also in some cases supersede administrative authority. While governance changes are not rationalized responses to global forces, they can be associated with globalizing behaviors promoted by government, including worker productivity and labor/management stability which both promote investment, especially international investment.

In higher education, globalization theory pertains most emphatically to work, to the changing nature and pace of labor as a result of technological change and the demand from employers and government for increased productivity and efficiency, largely in the name of global competitiveness. While education--curriculum, programming, and instruction--is altering as well, the impact of globalization on this area is not as pronounced. Yet, curriculum is becoming more oriented to skill acquisition; programming more connected to the needs of business and industry; and instruction more reliant upon electronic technologies. Government policies and funding incentives are decidedly directed at accelerating the pace of change in education, responding to global pressures for increasing productivity and developing a globally competitive labor force while reducing labor costs.

- Chapter 8: Organizational adaptation: Responding to global forces and managing colleges

Background

The global economy has altered expectations for educational institutions, particularly those at the postsecondary level, suggesting considerable potential for institutional alterations. This global economy is characterized by its new demands for educational and occupational skills to cope with technological change and the redistribution of jobs. But the process of change also affects higher education institutions themselves as they adapt to the global economy. Globalization theory suggests that higher education institutions are subject to pressures to alter past practices and conform to standards of production, including for example increased productivity and increased interaction with the marketplace (Appadurai, 1990; Aronowitz & Di Fazio, 1994). Global competition also stimulates technological innovation, particularly increasing computerization in the workplace (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994; Bridges, 1994; Rifkin, 1995). Technological innovation leads to the subordination and displacement of workers, i.e., cuts in labor costs (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994). These innovations and reductions lead not only to redesign and reorganization of the workplace (Bridges, 1994; Castells, 1993) but also to changes in the nature of work (Bridges, 1994). As the rate of production increases, the workload of employees increases, and the control of management over production increases (Rifkin, 1995). Growth and diminution are twin outcomes of globalization. New ways to manage production are inevitable: for example, network structures replace pyramids as ways to coordinate work, and both the speed of production and managerial control are increased as workers become more self-managing, more compliant with managerial imperatives (Vallas, 1993).

In adapting to their environments and in the face of globalization higher education institutions altered in the 1990s. This was especially notable in community colleges, where institutional missions and structures changed in response to external forces. Production, i.e., work, changed for organizational members and the management of work altered as well. Managers employed various strategies in to respond to global forces of change and to adapt their institution to a global environment. What is questionable is the extent to which community college administrators directed change and influenced organizational decisions. The purpose of this chapter is to identify and explain how these managers both respond to external forces of change and influence internal change within their organizations. Chapter 5 presents considerable data and analysis on organizational adaptation and strategy. This chapter draws upon Chapter 5 for its discussion.

Adaptation

At each of the seven colleges, there were at least two readily observable approaches to adaptation of the four identified by Cameron (see Figure 8.1.). This pattern suggests that organizational adaptation involves several approaches and can be explained by at least two theoretical positions for each institution.

Accidentalism, the fifth explanation for organizational adaptation, was observable at all the colleges, and can serve as an additional framework for the understanding of organizational action. Figure 8. 2. displays specific institutional features that suggest accidental change. Government legislation, institutional leadership, and formal structures are categories under which "accidents" can be contained.

Colleges	*Pop. Ecology*	*Life Cycles*	*Strategic*	*Symbolic Act*
SVCC		*SVCC*	*SVCC*	
ECS		*ESC*	*ESC*	
CSCC	*CSCC*	*CSCC*		
PSCC			*PSCC*	*PSCC*
CCC	*CCC*	*CCC*		
RVC		*RVC*		*RVC*
NMC		*NMC*	*NMC*	

Figure 8.1.: Adaptation Approaches

SVCC	ESC	CSCC	PSCC	CCC	RVC	NMC
Ideology and approach of district chancellor; state policy on remedial education	Connection of college to political officials; personal values of president	Act of mid-1990s president and approach of district chancellor	University connections and personal backgrounds of higher education leaders	Governing board makeup and relationship of board, president and vice-presidents	Labor relations arrangements; personal friction among administrators	Public personae of president and government economic boom and bust

Figure 8.2.: Accidentalism

While considerable change is noted during the 1990s at the seven community colleges, including changes to missions, structures, and production, change is not all the consequence of managerial strategy. Unlike the image portrayed in the promotional change literature for community colleges (e.g., Alfred & Carter, 1996; Baker, 1993; Fryer & Lovas, 1991), organizational managers are not directing their institutions. Organizational change relies upon a multiplicity of factors, including global forces (Levin, 1999). Yet, observed in this investigation, community college managers do not consciously ascribe institutional change to global forces; instead, they suggest that change is deliberate, and often strategic.

Organizational managers interpret the external environment, using several lenses or filters, and largely make their interpretations based upon their understanding of their own organization. Yet, some of these alterations can be attributed to globalization, including the drive for greater efficiencies and the addition and deletion of programs based upon market demand. Moreover, changes in production and alterations to work are part of colleges' adaptation. College members either work or are asked to work harder, faster, and longer. Faculty at some institutions either resist or ignore the request. Support staff can neither resist nor ignore the request, but some are protected by their work area because of its distance from core operations or from central management. Managers, by and large, bear the brunt of increased demands for work. Ironically, those who attempt to exercise control over the organization and its units are those who are most affected by change.

A U. S. example can be seen at Suburban Valley Community College. At Suburban Valley, alterations to production such as the emphasis upon teamwork, increases in new technology, and changing curricula to reflect issues of diversity were responses to state government funding decreases over the decade, to local high-tech business requirements, and to community demographics. State government revenues declined in the early 1990s as military spending in the state dropped, as a consequence of the end of the cold war. High technology businesses, competing internationally, demand an internationally competitive workforce. And, large numbers of immigrants, especially from Asian countries, in the 1990s have altered the profile of the community and the need for English language training and remedial education has increased.

A Canadian example can be seen at North Mountain College. At North Mountain, alterations to production such as emphasis upon technology for instruction, curricular change to add four-year applied degree programs, and program movement from credit to non-credit, and from cost burden to cost recovery and profit were responses to both local business and industry requirements for competitiveness and provincial government restraints on college funding. Local industry competes internationally for business and is subject to international economies as industry is resource based. Provincial government policy in the 1990s was directed toward the eradication of both deficit budgets and debt: thus, government agencies were punished by government decrements in fiscal operating allocations by 20% over a three-year period.

While colleges adapt to their environments by responding to pressures from external forces, college actions are also attributable to the personal behaviors of organizational managers, to historical events both within and outside the institution, and to past actions of the institutions. Behaviors, events, and organizational actions tend to trigger or influence other actions, suggesting that managerial control and direction are not certain. At East Shoreline College, the government's decision and subsequent legislation that enabled the college to grant baccalaureate degrees also triggered increasing stratification and friction among faculty groups. At Pacific Suburban Community College, the background of the higher education system Vice-Chancellor as the chief operating officer of PSCC provided PSCC with high status among the system's community colleges. These actions and conditions influenced managerial behaviors, and in some cases organizational actions can be linked causally to these.

Managerial actions at these institutions were conceived by managers and indeed by other organizational members as strategic. That is, managerial actions were viewed as deliberately planned actions that are motivated to adapt the organization to its external environment so that the organization is advantaged or improved. But strategy and strategic action are only part of the behaviors and actions attributable to these institutions. Other views of adaptation are not only conceptually plausible but also empirically evident: these include population ecology, life cycles, and symbolic action. City Center College was driven to a large extent by the considerable in-flow of immigrants into the local community, at a rate of 30,000/ year over the decade. The large number of non-English speaking immigrants and their need for English language training was a significant factor for institutional programming and services. It is also reasonable to consider these institutions as entering an advanced stage of organizational development, and thus influenced in large part by related factors, such as the age of employees and repeated patterns of behavior over time. All colleges exhibited these characteristics. For example at one college, a faculty member in a position of responsibility for curriculum and instructional policy, as chair of a major decision-making committee, noted that with retirement just around the corner both he and his colleagues were unlikely to push for change in institutional patterns. At another college, the historically antagonistic position between union and management was only exacerbated by time.

Accidentalism is another perspective that adds to our understanding of organizational actions. Indeed, accidentalism suggests that adaptation, based upon the premise of an environment for an organization (Sandelands & Drazin, 1989), may have some limitations as a concept for explaining organizational change. In 1995, at City South Community College, the president of the college, soon to move from his role as president to a role as Vice-Chancellor at the district office, initiated a massive re-structuring of the college. Outcomes of the 1995 re-structuring led to layoffs without increased productivity as enrollments continued to decline, as well as to misunderstanding about purpose on the part of organizational members. The 1995 re-structuring action stands out, not only for its radical approach to both external change and internal fiscal decline but also for its influence upon the future. While this strategy was a deliberate one, and rationalized in several documents written by the president to college members, present understandings of the re-structuring reflect denial of the president's justifications and an inability to repair dysfunctional outcomes or reverse the structural changes imposed by the act of re-structuring. In 1997 and 1998, college employees were uncertain of the purpose of the 1995 re-structuring; several employees remained bitter about layoffs.

At City Center College, several changes in the 1990s were influential in organizational adaptation, with unintended outcomes. One of these was an action occurring in the later part of the 1990s which was unanticipated by government legislation pertaining to governing boards. At CCC, a college employee who was a recently elected and then appointed board member, consistent with new government legislation on employee participation on the governing board, was elected to the position of board chair, an unprecedented event. As the voice of the board, and as the liaison board member with the college's administration, this college employee was placed in a position whereby she was both the employer of the president and his administration and an employee of the president. This condition presented a number of potential situations of conflicts of interest on the part of the board chair. A second action was the separation of third campus of City Center College in the mid-1990s to become a separate college. One of the unintended outcomes was that the administration at City Center College acted so as not to permit the two remaining campuses the autonomy that each's organizational members preferred. Thus, considerable energy on the part of administrators was directed to controlling operations at the two campuses and ensuring a high degree of co-ordination.

At North Mountain College, the college president had a long background as a North Mountain College faculty member. This role as well as his continued relationships with administrators, who too were former faculty members, provided the president with not only bureaucratic authority but also professional authority (as a teacher-practitioner), supplemented with personal bonds that carried influence in professional relationships.

The role of managers in these institutions can be characterized as primarily a responder to forces acting upon the institution, largely absent a planful deliberateness or the motivation to position the institution vis à vis its external environment, although these managers believe that their actions are strategic. This might suggest that the manager's job at the community college is not identical to the manager's job in large corporations or business as noted by Mintzberg (1973) and different from the symbolic role of managers at universities (Bensimon, Neumann, & Birnbaum, 1989; Birnbaum, 1992). Mintzberg's managers are not primarily reactors or contextually fashioned: they are deliberate actors. Bensimon, Neumann, and Birnbaum's managers work within a given value and meaning system where they are more instruments of those values and meanings rather than creators of others' organizational reality. This investigation suggests that some of these differences may be a consequence of the community college's responsiveness to its external environment--its local community--and its connections to the state--to state and provincial governments, specifically. There is an apparent gap between what managers perceive their role to be, including the deliberateness and outcomes of their actions, and what their role is shown to be in this investigation.

College mission serves as a useful example of organizational adaptation: The extent to which the mission alters, or if it does not alter, reflects the degree to which the external environment is influential. I noted three categories of the state of college missions--entrenchment, elaboration, or transformation. Entrenchment suggests the maintaining and preserving of the traditional college mission, with little strategy to adapt to environmental alterations, and with limited flexibility in structures to alter mission or to alter structures as the mission alters. Elaboration suggests the developing and altering of the traditional mission, with corresponding changes to structures, or the changing structures which result in the altering of the mission. Finally, transformation suggests a radical alteration to traditional mission and the replacing of major aspects of the former mission with fundamentally new elements and values. Figure 8.3. presents a visual configuration of the seven colleges, relative to each other, with respect to the state of college mission over the decade.

This state of the college's mission over the decade--from entrenchment, to elaboration, to transformation--parallels the degree of change, institutional adaptation, to the college's global context. Adaptation was categorized as marginal, moderate, and severe. Figure 8.4. presents this categorization.

Figure 8.3. The state of the college mission

Entrenchment		*Elaboration*		*Transformation*
City Center	Rural Valley		East Shoreline North Mountain	
City South	Pacific Suburban		Suburban Valley	

Figure 8.4. Institutional adaptation to a global context

Marginal		*Moderate*		*Severe*
City Center		Suburban Valley		
	Rural Valley			
	East Shoreline		North Mountain	
City South		Pacific Suburban		

Finally, based upon globalization categories (see Chapter 3, Exhibit 1), organizational adaptation can be seen as three categories of major environmental factors--contexts, investments (or inputs), and outcomes. Each of the globalization categories is contained within one of the categories of environmental factors, as shown

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in Figure 8.5.

a. contexts:

state intervention
less public sector funding
local demographics
institutional history

b.. investments/inputs:

internationalization
electronic technology
productivity/efficiency
private sector interactions

c. outcomes:

resources acquisition
curricular change
cultural change
commodification
corporatism
labor alterations
re-structuring
marketplace orientation

Figure 8.5. Environmental factors of organizational adaptation

- Chapter 9: Public policy, community colleges, and the path to globalization

There is considerable evidence that the state in this investigation is largely preoccupied with economic issues, specifically with improving its economic competitiveness on a global scale and with reducing its public sector costs. Workforce training is the major focus of government policy directed to community colleges. And governments, particularly state and provincial governments, direct community colleges to alter institutional practices and become more productive and efficient.

Hartmark and Hines (1986) identify five areas where government policy can influence higher education institutions. These pertain to the goals and purposes of higher education, values and norms, programs, management, and resources. Goedegebuure, Kaiser, Maassen, and De Weert (1993) conceptualize two types of state influence or state behaviors: the interventionary state and the facilitatory state. In the former, government is actively involved in institutional activities and actions, intervening directly to ensure such outcomes as "economic efficiency...student access and accountability" (Goedegebuure, Kaiser, Maassen, & De Weert, 1993, p. 1). If the state is the maintainer and expander of existing modes of production, shaped by classes or class struggles (Skocpol, 1985) and inherently capitalistic, then state policy reproduces production (Carnoy, 1984). Furthermore, the interventionary state can be viewed as an instrument of economic interests and particularly capitalism. Thus, promotion of workforce training and emphases upon economic competitiveness are behaviors of government consistent with the state as an "expression...of social-class relations...[that]...imply domination of one group by another" (Carnoy, 1984, p. 250). If the state is an actor independent of capital and labor (Carnoy, 1984), and state officials are relatively autonomous (Dougherty, 1994), then the interventionary state can be seen as an agent of policy influencers of higher education which include the interests of business and students as well as state and institutional officials (Dougherty, 1994; Skocpol, 1985). Thus, in this latter case, government social policy as well as economic policy, and other actions that "attempt to reinforce the authority, political longevity, and social control of the state"(Skocpol, 1985, p. 15), find a vehicle in higher education institutions.

For higher education, Slaughter (1990) advances a different and more integrative view: that the state is de facto inseparable from higher education institutions, and therefore not an autonomous entity; and that the state is not monolithic, not a simple source of money or authority but a multifaceted resource. That is to say that at some levels, the state does reflect class and social struggles while at other levels the state is independent of capital and labor. This view suggests that while workforce training and economic competitiveness may indeed reflect the state's imposition of capitalistic behaviors on institutions, student access policies and funding behaviors to support access could be seen as expressions of social policy that may not be in accord with capitalism or domination of one group over another.

In this analysis of government documents, including U.S. federal and state documents and Canadian federal and provincial documents, government policies clearly endeavor to direct community colleges toward economic goals, emphasizing workforce training and state economic competitiveness as outcomes, compelling colleges to improve efficiencies and to become accountable to government and responsive to business and industry. Government policy is derived from two nations--the U.S. and Canada--and within those nations three states and two provinces. There are thus seven distinct jurisdictions: Federal U.S., Federal Canada, California, Hawaii, Washington, Alberta, and British Columbia. Within this category of government policy, documents which pertain to community colleges, directly or indirectly, were collected and analyzed. Documents that refer to community colleges explicitly, such as government legislation on community college governance, constitute direct applicability. Documents that refer to education and training in general or to government programs, such as employment, that have a bearing on community colleges, constitute indirect applicability.

Documents cover the period of the 1990s. Documents were coded by a research team, reviewed by the principal investigator, and then coded data were analyzed by the principal investigator and a research assistant. Document analysis is . displayed in Appendix B and is comprised of all coded documents with a description of each document's content and the predominant codes used for each document. As well, Appendix B includes a summary of the documents from each jurisdiction, the thematic emphasis of the documents from that jurisdiction based upon the analytical code, a statement on the policy direction for each jurisdiction, and finally a listing of the documents that were principal sources for assertions about policy direction.

Federal: The United States

Policy documents are oriented in two directions: to improve the unfavorably perceived workforce productivity of the U.S. and to up-grade the workforce and potential workers in order to remove a burden from employers and government. Increasing workforce productivity is assumed to put America in a more competitive position internationally. Up-grading carried out by community colleges is viewed as meeting the needs of business and industry and aiding governments in ensuring that their economic and workforce policies are working. Federal goals are to increase skills and to ensure greater individual self-sufficiency, that is improve workers' skills and remove the unemployed from welfare. There is considerable emphasis upon high technology and advanced manufacturing skills as well as basic skills and literacy. There is some ambiguity over not only problems, such as the effectiveness of vocational education, but also solutions, likely as there are differing assumptions about national competitiveness: the contrast between jobs with "high skills and high wages" as opposed to some skills and low wages.

Federal policy documents are almost singly focused upon workforce training. The community college is viewed as a principal deliverer of workforce training and employment up-grading.

Workforce training is the prevailing themes by coded categories, the prevailing category for all federal documents. These emphasize U.S. competitiveness and suggest that productivity of the U.S. workforce has declined in the past decades. These documents assert an important role for postsecondary education, especially the community college, in providing training which is largely conceived of as skills development, but includes literacy and basic education, along with high-technology training in specialized fields. There is some reference to underrepresented groups (American Indians and Native Hawaiians), to migrant workers, to those already in the workforce who need up-grading. There is also the suggestion that organization and management of vocational education are inadequate, that program quality is sub-standard, and that outcomes, such as job placement, are poor. Thus, there is the targeting of federal dollars to the states for reform of vocational education to ensure appropriate workforce training.

The major emphasis of policy is upon meeting national economic needs, especially national competitiveness within a global economy. Furthermore, the implication is that welfare and unemployment are detracting from national productivity and are a burden on federal expenditures. Postsecondary education, especially community college education, is directed to improve workforce training, to assist employers in filling jobs, to support the economic competitiveness of business and industry, and to help the lower socio-economic strata either find jobs or improve productivity within their jobs. The promise is that federal dollars will be used to improve vocational education and workforce training, with the community college as a major beneficiary of federal largesse.

State: California

Beginning in the early 1990s, and most apparent in the mid-1990s, there are descriptions of new and expanding roles for community colleges, including their role in economic development of California and in training a workforce for global competitiveness of the state. There are references to limitations on funding from the state, and little suggestion that state funding is going to increase in any significant fashion. Also, there are references to changing demographics, with increasing minority populations soon to become majority (by 2002). There is some reference to governance, characterized by tension between central and local governance. Yet, overall, there is little sense of accomplishment for California's community colleges, and little reference in government policy to social issues. The dominant role of the state seems to be funding and policy directives to institutions for increased productivity and a greater economic role.

Prevailing themes by coded categories include workforce training, less public sector funding available, productivity and efficiency, and changing demographics. Workforce training is promoted to meet the needs and requirements of employers; to assist the state economy; and to cope with new employment demands in specific areas and decreasing demands in traditional manufacturing sectors. Less public sector funding is available in spite of increasing student numbers: government funding does not keep pace with demand and growth. To increase productivity and efficiency policy promotes the reform or restructuring of institutions to improve instruction. The policy message is clear: do more with the same or fewer finances. There is simultaneously recognition of changing demographics: increased immigration; increased minority populations; increased needs for English language training.

Policy emphasizes the requirement to meet state and private sector economic needs, in light of changing economic environments, which are assumed to be driven by global economies. Postsecondary education, especially community college education, is directed to shift more toward workforce training, both to assist employers in filling jobs and to support the economic competitiveness of business and industry. Also, corresponding with this role of workforce training and development, there is the directive from state government that institutions must alter, become responsive to external needs, and use electronic technology for efficiency and instructional innovations, including distance education and improved methods to assess students to ensure increased productivity. Overall, emphasis is upon productivity, as opposed to finding new revenue sources, in order to maintain services and programs.

State: Hawaii

The economy, highly influenced by international trade and tourism, is the dominant issue in state documents. As a branch of government, the University of Hawaii and the University of Hawaii's community colleges are both recipients of the economic woes of the state and vehicles to assist the state in coping with and reforming the economy. The University of Hawaii system offers strategies and plans to maintain programs and to expand facilities and higher education access. There is some tension between the demands of the university system's governing board and the legislature, particularly over funding.

Prevailing themes by coded categories include less public sector funding, workforce training, restructuring, productivity and efficiency and marketplace. State policy documents indicate that the economic performance of the state requires decreasing allocation to higher education, with the university system acknowledging the condition of fewer state funds for higher education. There is considerable emphasis in the state to prepare students for the workforce, especially in community colleges. References are made to a consideration in 1992 and 1993 for applied degrees that are 3-4 years duration. Numerous new programs suitable for a changing economy are initiated in the 1990s. The underlying emphasis of these proposed initiatives is to bolster the state's economy with a trained workforce. Calls for restructuring include the state's economy and both training and higher education. These calls are intended to improve the economic outlook of the state and to aid the public higher education system in coping with declining state revenues. Other calls for productivity and efficiency are efforts to cope with declining resources. The marketplace is identified as significant in policy documents: its prominence justifies efforts and proposals to gear higher education to the state's economy and toward the private sector, including Asia Pacific countries.

Policy for the university and community colleges directs these institutions to be responsive to the state's economy and to economic reform. With acknowledgement in policy documents of declining state funds for higher education, the university system is compelled to seek alternate funding sources and to seek operating efficiencies. But, the university system promotes quality in opposition to efficiency, providing potential conflict between legislators who promote efficiency and educators who champion effectiveness. To deal with declining revenue sources, tuition is raised within the system; programs and personnel are cut; attractive retirement incentives are offered; and credit programs are moved to non-credit, both to save and to make money. Distance education is also used to preserve and widen access and to attract international students as additional revenues sources.

State: Washington

There is emphasis upon three themes: increased productivity (i.e., efficiency), workforce training, with stress upon new workplace needs, and the state's economy, including a competitive environment. There is little attention to social issues, with employment as the only socially related issue. Here, there is a focus upon re-training and training for the long-term unemployed or dislocated workers, with some reference to minorities and women. There are increasing government efforts to direct the institutions, including the development of a higher education system, first by amalgamating the state's community and the technical colleges and second by establishing a higher education coordinating board.

Prevailing themes by coded categories include workforce training, productivity and efficiency, state intervention, and internationalization. On the topic of workforce training, there is considerable talk in early 1990s and action in the mid-1990s, with efforts to match education and training with the workplace. There is also increasing discussion of a competitive environment and "high skills/high wages", with acknowledgement of changing vocations and workplace needs. There is recognition of the loss of traditional manual and mechanical vocations and thus emphasis upon training for the dislocated worker, for immigrants, for severely unemployed, and for people of color. Productivity and efficiency are tied to less government funding for institutions, with a push especially in mid-1990s for community colleges to increase efficiencies, including the use of electronic technology, better student completion rates and employment rates for students. Colleges are also directed to use more part-time faculty and fewer full-time faculty, and to use staff to do professional work, such as advising. Programming and operations are finance driven, and institutions are highly state dependent. The state directs and has centralized decision-making, with the state pushing institutions to greater efficiencies and movement toward increased workforce training. The state has intervened in policy and fiscal support for educational technologies and distance education; the state has changed fee collection so that colleges can retain tuition fees; changed criteria within categories of fee payers so that ABE, ESL and some types of the unemployed are tuition free. The internationalization process for colleges is mainly a means to locate additional revenues, although there is some mention (e.g., in master plan) about the need for an internationally savvy workforce and the need for community colleges to include internationally-oriented curriculum.

There is considerable shift in policy so that colleges are more economic instruments of the state, driven through funding and policy directives by state government. Legislation supports greater centralization both state-wide (e.g., amalgamation in 1991 of state community colleges and technical colleges) and at district offices (e.g., collective bargaining). Also there is centralization with a state-wide higher education coordinating body (e.g., promotes and oversees collaboration, distance education); and through the legislature (e.g., general funding, targeted funding). Somewhat in contrast to this centralization tendency, new legislation in 1993 permits districts to establish senates, but does forbid strikes.

Federal: Canada

Canadian federal policy documents view postsecondary education as workforce training. The federal role in education is confined to a training function; education per se is a provincial responsibility. The federal emphasis is upon employment and reducing unemployment, upon Canada's competitiveness, upon Canada's economy, and upon federal/provincial arrangements. There is little mention upon improving the quality of education or training, but there is emphasis upon the need for training to become more marketplace relevant, to meet the needs of employers. The majority of documents, however, address unemployment insurance, as this is a major federal initiative: to transfer responsibility of unemployment and welfare away from federal government bodies to provincial government bodies. Policy is intended to reduce time on unemployment insurance and reliance upon welfare suggesting an increase in employment. Thus, this leads to the need for training and re-training.

Prevailing themes by coded categories include workforce training, internationalization and electronic technology. Workforce training is the over-riding category for federal documents. There is emphasis upon reducing unemployment and the promotion of international education, especially through student mobility (and related policy)--internationalize Canadian education to improve the workforce. There is shifting responsibility for workforce training from the federal government to the provinces, and the resultant cutting of federal programs such as the purchase of training. There is promotion of closer ties of training institutions to business and industry. Federal government policies and programs encourage international education, partnerships with Canada and the U.S. and Canada and the European Community--ultimately for economic benefit. International education is viewed as an unexploited source of revenues for Canadian educational institutions. Electronic technology is tied to training and upgrading of the workforce and associated with global competitiveness.

In Canada, there is a policy shift in responsibility, between 1993 and 1999, and from federal to provincial government bodies, for workforce training and employment. The federal government claims they have to pour billions into higher education and training and now wants to extricate themselves. A significant area is unemployment insurance where federal policy limits the duration that the unemployed can be on unemployment insurance. This demands that employment opportunities be available. Thus, there are incentives to employers to hire the unemployed. This also requires that the unemployed be trained or re-trained, and there are incentives to provincial government bodies for such programs. It is not clear, however, whether federal money is transferred to provinces for these programs or provinces are expected to provide programs (training) from already transferred federal funds.

Province: Alberta

Government policy documents are consumed with less public sector spending, greater efficiencies and emphasis upon workforce training. Policy endeavors to situate the province in a globally competitive environment. There is government intervention through funding behaviors--envelopes--and reduction in public sector funding in 1994, 1995 and 1996--down 21%. Government policy also uses new applied degrees to satisfy workplace requirements. There is heavy emphasis upon electronic technology: learning is viewed as cost effective and providing access couched in the language of the "new learner" and new learning needs. Overall, there is a business model for education with little focus upon content of knowledge. There is pronounced government involvement with shifts towards education as a business, beginning in 1994 and including a considerable decrease in provincial government fiscal support for postsecondary education and increasing importance upon fee-payers (students) to be responsible for education and training. There is a marked increased emphasis upon productivity and efficiency. Finally, there are references to government support for international education.

Prevailing themes by coded categories include workforce training, less public sector spending, productivity and efficiency, and electronic technology. Workforce training is emphasized for the needs and requirements of employers; to assist the provincial economy; and to make Alberta competitive globally. Less public sector funding on the part of government includes actions to reduce debt and end deficit financing. Productivity and efficiency are tied to the reform or restructuring of the adult learning system to improve instruction and do more with the same or less finances. Finally, to meet needs of business and industry and to improve productivity, government policy promotes the use of electronic technology.

In Alberta, government has taken an active role in directing the province's higher education system, particularly colleges and institutes. Government promotes education and training that supports government policy, business needs, and efficiency. Government wants institutions to produce and provide education and training that is less expensive, serves more Albertans, and is responsive to business and industry. Education and training are viewed as economic supports. Government also ties funding to institutions' willingness to conform. In the mid-1990s, government cutback government grants to public institutions so that provincial deficits and debt would end. Institutions were asked to be less reliant upon government. Finally, government moved to legislate four-year applied degrees, largely to meet the higher skills needs of business and industry.

Province: British Columbia

There is a growing "mantra" over the period of the 1990s, beginning in 1991, on economic competitiveness of the province, on workforce training to meet the needs of business and industry to enable these to compete internationally, and specifically on skill acquisition--"employability skills", applied skills, workplace skills. There are also both implications and directions for post secondary institutions to reform, both curriculum and delivery, in order to meet the needs of the private sector. Institutions are influenced to use more electronic technology, to increase collaboration with each other and with the private sector. The assumptions are that there is a changed workplace; that there is a high level of international competition for business and industry; and that there are new learners (i.e., different from the past). Furthermore, there is the assumption that "job shift" is occurring, mainly toward more service sector jobs.

Prevailing themes by coded categories include workforce training, electronic technology, productivity and efficiency, partnerships and social programs. Workforce training is emphasized for colleges to meet the needs and requirements of employers and to assist the provincial economy. There is a rapid increase in the use of electronic technology in the workplace, and thus the need for institutions to increase use in both curriculum and instructional delivery. Productivity and efficiency are promoted to reform or restructure institutions to improve training (e.g., modularized instruction, distributive learning, prior assessment); and to do more with the same or less finances. Partnerships are encouraged, largely with the private sector, to meet their needs, and with other institutions to improve efficiencies. Social programs include a focus upon underrepresented groups; greater equality for women and the disabled; aboriginal self-determination; and multiculturalism.

The major emphasis of policy in British Columbia is upon meeting provincial and private sector economic needs, although in the context of government social programs. That is, the needs of special groups such as women, aboriginal peoples, and the disabled are part and parcel of expected and promoted policy change. These two priorities are not necessarily compatible, especially as economic interests are those of private business and industry and social interests are those of marginalized or disadvantaged groups. Nonetheless, postsecondary education, especially community college education, is directed to shift more toward workforce training, both to assist students in obtaining jobs and to support the economic competitiveness of business and industry.

Discussion

There are remarkably similar emphases across jurisdictions, from province to province, from state to state and from one country to another. There is also considerable consistency in the perspective of policy, and the underlying assumptions, with Carnoy's (1984) view. Within the economic domain, which includes workforce training, the dominant category, state policy reproduces production. Higher education institutions, specifically community colleges, are directed and coerced to serve the needs of capital through supplying business and industry with a trained workforce. At the same time, these institutions are asked and pushed to increase efficiency, that is reduce per unit costs. Restrictions upon, even reductions of, government's public spending are strategies to cope with both declining revenues and increasing demands for government services. In other words, public education serves private interests in at least two ways: first in containing private taxation and second in supplying labor for the private sector.

However, in some cases, most specifically in U. S. federal policy, and in Washington, Hawaii, and British Columbia policy, there are signs of the relative autonomy of the state, free from the domination of capital over labor or of one class over another. Here, social programs have a prominent place in policy. For example, within policies on workforce training, the U.S. federal government highlights the importance of serving underrepresented groups--for example, American Indians and Native Hawaiians. In Washington state, workforce training policy features dislocated workers, minorities and women. In British Columbia, the social and economic needs of special groups--women, aboriginal peoples, and the disabled--are addressed along with the needs of the provincial economy. The presence of social issues in these jurisdictions may suggest that the state has influence and power distinct from the power of capital or of a dominant economic class.

Conclusions

In all cases, government is interventionary, endeavoring to influence community colleges directly in programs, management and resources and indirectly in goals and purposes. To conform to government policy, community college norms and values will have to alter. The path to globalization for government policy is a path of economic growth. Cultural and knowledge-related issues, those matters associated with a liberal education, are superfluous to government policy.

This does not mean that non-economic issues are forgotten in government policy. Independent of business and industry and capital, government promotes social issues, even though these are largely tied to economic matters such as employment and training for employment. Alberta is clearly the only jurisdiction where social issues are not topics of government policy related to higher education. British Columbia in contrast not only promotes issues of equity but also acts in its legislation to democratize institutional governance. In the U. S., while there are fiscal pressures to close the doors of community colleges, access for all is a primary value. For all three U. S. states, expanding, even maintaining, access will, according to government policy, require "doing more with less".

Surprisingly, in the U.S. jurisdictions there is no reference to multi-culturalism even though the three colleges in these jurisdictions feature multi-culturalism in curriculum, extra curricular activities and in institutional value statements. In Canada, consistent with federal policy which expresses a devolution of responsibility for training to provinces (education is in Canada an historical provincial responsibility), there is a pronounced emphasis upon provincial priorities in government policy related to higher education in general and community colleges in specific. In both Alberta and British Columbia, planning documents assume that community colleges are part of a provincial system, serving the needs of provincial citizens and aiding the provincial economy.

Policies that are suggestive of a relatively autonomous state--autonomous from capital or class struggles (Carnoy, 1984)--are few, leading to the conclusion that in the case of community colleges government policy is primarily oriented to reproducing production. The relatively autonomous state may have been applicable to an earlier era, the historical period before the 1990s which concerns Dougherty (1994), especially the development of the community college, but government policy in the

1990s clearly favors the interests of business, industry, and capital. The state's attention to issues of equity, access, and an informed citizenry--issues that could be held up as critical to the community college movement--is marginal.

The state--province, state, and federal government in the U.S.--uses the community college as a vehicle of government economic policy and as a model of production, directing these institutions to greater efficiencies and less reliance upon the public purse. Furthermore, government policy has fashioned the community college as an economically globalized institution, adhering to global competitiveness and its attendant behaviors.

- Chapter 10: Organizational change in seven institutions

The research questions articulated in Chapter 1 directed this investigation of seven community colleges in Canada and the United States. These questions revolved around organizational change, including influences or contributions to change as well as actions taken in response to influences. A considerable body of literature on the community college over the past two decades does not acknowledge both the forces acting upon these institutions and the resultant behaviors of organizational members. This literature conceived of the community college as a rather static entity, and actual behaviors were unexamined (e.g., Bogart, 1994; Boone, 1997; Brint & Karabel, 1989; Dennison & Gallagher, 1986; Larabee, 1997; Pincus, 1994; Ratcliff, 1994).

This investigation, in both methods and findings, fell outside of typical community college scholarship. First, it relied upon specific theoretical foundations, including globalization theory and organization theory. Implicit in these theoretical foundations is a dynamic condition. Second, in using field methods for research, this investigation examined actual people in real situations, and observations of these people comprised a substantial part of the evidence for research findings. Moreover, this investigation used multiple sources for evidence, including documents, interviews, and direct observation, as well as questionnaires. Details on methods are contained in Chapter 3. Third, the findings of this investigation, while empirically derived, conform to scholarship on globalization and are consistent with mainstream scholarship on organizational behaviors.

In Chapter 4, organizational environments are identified and examined, based upon institutional data and published local, regional, and national demographic data. At each level of analysis, whether institutional or jurisdictional, contexts differed and the implication was that influences upon college behaviors that differ would lead, potentially, to differing outcomes.

In Chapter 5, extensive case histories are presented, indicating the connections between global forces of change and alterations to institutional mission and structures, the impact of globalization on the seven colleges, and how colleges respond to external forces. Details and elaboration on effects for the specific institutions are presented in Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

In Chapter 9, government policy is shown to influence college behaviors, playing an important role in globalizing these institutions. The state's emphasis was upon economic policy, using community colleges as vehicles of policy and directing these institutions to both greater economic efficiencies and less reliance upon the public sector.

In this and the following chapter, I address the nine specific research questions as conclusions of this report.

Research questions to address theories of globalization and organization

In the 1990s:

1. What changes and what kinds of changes have taken place in all institutions studied?

2. What are the forces that have influenced or contributed to these changes? Internal? External? No identifiable locus?

3. Are community colleges different institutions from the 1980s and previously, and what is an appropriate description in the 1990s?

4. What differences are to be found along major variables:
a. U.S. and Canada? b. Geographical location? c. Size? d. Programmatic (e.g., different curricula)? e. Other?
And, what are the reasons for differences?

5. What role, if any, has Canada/U.S. Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA played in organizational change?

6. What specific and common global forces have affected these institutions?

7. How have institutions responded to these forces and with what outcomes?

Based upon the above, what are the implications and recommendations of this investigation:

8. Do the findings from this investigation suggest predictive patterns: what does this suggest for the first decade of the 21st century?

9. What can institutional stakeholders (e.g., government, managers, business and industry, faculty, governing boards) learn from the results of this research?

What changes and what kinds of changes have taken place in all institutions studied?

The investigation identified several major areas of change in the seven institutions. Explicitly, in Chapter 7, the investigation noted the areas of education and work as undergoing change. In Chapters 6 and 8, the areas of management, governance, and organization were identified as altered. More implicitly, through the findings of this investigation, the area of the social role of the institution was noted as altering.

This section addresses four main areas of change during the 1990s for the seven institutions: (1) management, governance and organization; (2) work; (3) education and training; and (4) the social role. Other categories of organizational change such as underlying assumptions, mission, culture, and functional processes will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Management, governance and organization. A business-like or corporate approach to both management and organization of colleges became customary. Governance at the institutional level increasingly exhibited characteristics of collegiality and politics (Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, & Riley, 1977; Hardy, 1996). Collegiality was evident in developing structures and processes for employee participation in decision-making, and politics was evident in formal and informal accommodation of groups in planning and implementing organizational actions. Strategic planning was a prevalent institutional activity that brought diverse groups together both collegially and politically to discuss and in some cases agree upon organizational action.

Collegiality, however, does not seem to be consistent with corporate-style management. In the 1990s, these institutions experienced greater managerial control over production, and fiscal resources became the central feature of managerial attention. Thus, while employee participation in planning and in some cases decision-making may have increased, the core organizational actions were resource based and directed to resource providers, such as the state and private businesses and industries. According to Ralston Saul (1995), the corporate ideology applied to education results in the alignment of education with the needs of the job market, bolstering "the managerial economy" (p. 163). This corporate behavior was evident in the colleges investigated to the extent that education and training became aligned with the requirements of business and industry more so than in previous decades.

Organizational structures and processes did alter in the 1990s, partly in response to the corporate agenda of institutional managers, partly in response to exogenous factors such as government fiscal allocations, government legislation, and changing student demographics, and partly in response to employee demands and multi-party agreements, for example union and management arrangements at the institutional or system level. In British Columbia, 1990s legislation which gave colleges a mandate to grant baccalaureate degrees and required colleges to establish a senate-type body, where some senate decisions were synonymous with formal institutional decisions, dramatically changed organizational structures and processes. In Hawaii, system policy on remedial education, removing remedial and developmental courses from the credit category, resulted in the establishment of non-credit bearing remedial and developmental programs. At all colleges in this investigation, government funding constraints during the decade led to heavy reliance of colleges upon contract training and international education. The outcomes of these entrepreneurial behaviors were similar to those identified by Grubb, Badway, Bell, Bragg, and Russman (1997) and Johnson (1995) in their research: the development and establishment of institutional structures separate from the traditional college organization. These structures are called "the entrepreneurial college" by Grubb et al. (1997) and rationalized by Johnson's (1995) colleges as part of their community responsive mission. For the seven colleges in this investigation, these separate structures suggest the formation of a counter college, an organization within a larger organization that while fiscally supporting the larger entity undermines some if its traditions and the values of its members.

Work. Administrative work and faculty work altered over the decade. The requirements of external influencers, such as governments, and the ubiquitousness of electronic technologies increased the speed and quantity of administrative work. This affected managers, support staff and faculty. Institutional requirements for both innovation and productivity and professional norms for currency in academic and vocational fields were significant contributors to the changing nature and increasing quantity of faculty work. At North Mountain College, government actions of balancing provincial budgets and decreasing fiscal allocations to colleges resulted in a major efficiency and productivity endeavor as managers, who were relatively fewer in number than in the previous decade, worked to produce the same or greater quality and quantity of results as in the past. At Suburban Valley Community College, faculty workloads increased as more students were accommodated in high demand instructional areas. At Pacific Suburban Community College, faculty work increased as Web-based instruction and distance education delivery became standard instructional responsibilities.

Government, business and industry, interacting with other organizations and agencies on a global basis, as well as tied to a global economy, pushed college to keep up: to work at the speed of the high tech information processing and manufacturing leaders both regionally and globally. Colleges were also expected to work for the same ends as these leaders. These ends necessitated a trained workforce with globally competitive skills and a consumer-oriented citizenry. The trained workforce is amply described in the literature (Bridges, 1994; Reich, 1992; Rifkin, 1995). The consumer-oriented citizen requires an income and knowledge of how to access goods and services, preferably through on-line or automated technologies. On the one hand, then, educational programs shifted more stridently toward vocational objectives, especially evident in what several jurisdictions referred to as "employability skills" and what Marginson in referring to Australian education called "work related generic skills" (1997, p. 179). On the other hand, students required training to practice consumption such as accessing the internet.

Faculty work thus altered in the 1990s in line with global economic requirements: skills, information retrieval, and procedural knowledge were emphasized in education and training. Critical analysis and the scientific method, for example, were not central features of the promoted curriculum for the twenty-first century. At the seven colleges, faculty work became aligned with the "managerial economy" (Ralston Saul, 1995), and faculty were less likely to be reinforced for their devotion to a specific discipline or for teaching academically oriented content. At these colleges, faculty were distinguished for developing and teaching applied history, resource management, computer simulated science and bio-technology, as well as delivering curricula through the Web.

There was, even in the face of a corporate-like position on faculty work, resistance and disapproval from individual faculty and faculty groups towards marketplace, consumer-oriented education and training. Some faculty were portrayed as Luddites by both managers and faculty alike for their refusal to embrace electronic technology in instruction. In Mathematics, for example, at two colleges there was sharp diversity of opinion over the extent to which electronic technology and consumer-oriented curricula were appropriate and indeed reliable for student learning. At North Mountain College, where faculty were given computer equipment of their choice if they undertook a computer-related instructional training program, there were divided views on faculty participation in this "deal". Some faculty viewed this "deal" as benign while others viewed it as a demonic bargain.

Education and training. Although a considerable portion of traditional education and training programs, and the traditional curricula contained within these programs, continued from the 1980s into the 1990s at the seven colleges, several program areas were re-structured or contracted and new program areas emerged. Furthermore, although traditional delivery of instruction, the standard of classroom-based teaching and learning, remained as the dominant method, non-traditional delivery expanded under the two categories of distance education and on-line instruction, which included Web based and internet instruction. Both complementary and conflicting developments became evident in the 1990s.

First, as colleges developed from the 1970s to the 1990s, they acquired an economic role in both Canada and the U.S. (Dougherty & Bakia, 1998; Johnson, 1995; Schugurensky & Higgins, 1996). In the seven investigated colleges, this economic role--whether for local economic development or job preparation--replaced the developmental education role. Remedial education, too, was relegated to a lesser status program area. English language training was maintained because of its relevance to job preparation. At the seven colleges, English language training was viewed as a revenue generating activity, not necessarily as a mainstay of the educational program: colleges either gained revenues from provincial and state governments for enrolments or they acquired revenues from fee-payers, or both. This shift to an economic focus in the 1990s was part of a re-assessment and re-definition of the community college's comprehensive curriculum and its mission to serve the underserved. The movement from individual development to individual productivity in education and training preparation complemented the shift from the social role of the community college to an economic role.

Second, both the marketplace and community members demanded higher credentialed students, and access to higher credentials was difficult in some jurisdictions. This was especially the case for Alberta and British Columbia, and the provision of the baccalaureate degree credential at colleges was enacted in legislation in the 1990s. In California, Hawaii, and Washington, higher credentials meant improving the university transfer process and outcomes so that community college students could obtain baccalaureate degrees at the closest university or even at the most convenient four-year school, such as the University of Phoenix. The demand for higher credentials and advanced studies and the needs of less advanced students were in conflict over institutional resources. Less attention and a lower public profile was given to basic vocational training and remedial education; increased resources and higher profiles were accorded baccalaureate education in Alberta and British Columbia, high technology and advanced career-oriented programs and university transfer in the U.S. colleges. Only City Center College in British Columbia did not follow this pattern in its adherence to a job preparation role that included remedial education and English language training as curricular foundations.

A third alteration to education and training was in instructional delivery. The general area of distance education, including on-line and Web based instruction, broadcast television, and interactive video, became standard at almost all of these institutions. Not only growth in student numbers over the decade but also increasing institutional resources made distance education a mainstream activity at these colleges. The relative success in enrolment growth of distance education gave rise to its use to generate new revenues and to raise productivity. Three institutions--North Mountain College, Pacific Suburban Community College, and Suburban Valley Community College--were poised at the close of the 1990s to use some form of distance education to capture an international, particularly an Asian, market and consequently generate a considerable revenue stream.

The social role. The community college was regarded as fulfilling a functional social role in the 1970s and 1980s (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Dennison & Gallagher, 1986; Gleazer, 1984; Roueche & Baker, 1987). Well into the 1990s, the social role of the community college continued to be articulated in both institutional documents and scholarship (see Boone, 1997; Dennison, 1995). But, as noted in this investigation, that social role diminished, replaced largely by an economic role. This role change was consistent with a switch in managerial ideology to corporatism and to greater identification with business and industry. Business practices such as quality assurance processes, marketing of institutional image, and customer servicing became endemic in these colleges. The practices and the language of practice defined the institution as a business and its customers as economic entities, that is, sources of revenue for the institution, labor for production in the marketplace, and consumer citizens.

This is not to say, however, that the social role was obliterated in the 1990s. Colleges served as community cultural centers, providing multicultural festivals, music, drama, and art exhibits in the 1990s. They provided venues for political dialogue, especially during formal public elections. College members performed outreach services in their communities, not just for business and industry but for socially disadvantaged groups. But, this social role had neither the prominence nor the supporting resources of the economic role of the college.

What were the forces that influenced or contributed to these changes?

Numerous forces influenced or contributed to organizational change in the 1990s. Prominent among these were economic forces, which included the financing of institutions and marketplace requirements for employment. Electronic technologies, primarily as information processing and communication vehicles, were forces contributing to change. Demographic forces, particularly those influenced by immigration patterns, affected both the social and educational role of colleges. And, political forces, including institutional power behaviors, played an influential role in organizational change.

Among other influential forces were social forces, such as the multicultural agenda, professionalism, institutionalism, including the tendency toward isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), capital and its providers, jurisdictional systems including district systems and state and provincial government systems, and institutional interpersonal relationships, including the connection between specific senior administrators and faculty over time as a consequence of these administrators' previous faculty role. Finally, and not insignificantly, was the influence of institutional history, including institutional context, institutional behavior patterns and impressionable institutional events and the outcomes of these events. Such events were an institution's "separation" into two colleges, the departure of a district chancellor and the arrival of another, and the re-structuring of an entire institution.

Economic forces were among the most if not the most influential forces upon college behaviors and actions. These forces had a variety of effects upon colleges. Provincial and state economies and the political philosophies of the governments in power determined government fiscal allocations to colleges. Because colleges depended upon these governments for their principal revenues, government funding behaviors were particularly critical. California's recession in the early 1990s, Hawaii's revenue shortfall in the mid and late 1990s, Alberta's debt in the early and mid 1990s, and Washington and British Columbia's declining resource economy all played an influential role in college behaviors. Furthermore, all jurisdictions were dependent upon international trade, and the U.S. jurisdictions of California and Washington were affected by military downsizing with the cessation of the Cold War, particularly evident in the missile and aircraft industry (Schrag, 1998; Schwantes, 1996b).

In the 1990s, governments constrained their fiscal allocations to colleges. Government funding did not match rising costs and institutional growth. Institutional behaviors thus altered; colleges sought alternate revenue sources. In pursuing these new sources, colleges altered programming and services. For example, Suburban Valley Community College offered bio-technology through revenues from the local bio-technology industry, not through government allocations. The program was designed for and tailored to industrial needs; program students were largely those already employed in industry. East Shoreline College establish a high school within the structure of the college, attracting Asian students who brought new revenues to the college. Pacific Suburban Community College pursued contract training for local businesses; developed curricula and delivered specialized programs to other countries via distance education technologies (on-line and Web based); and expanded its culinary arts program to attract foreign students--all influenced by the need to compensate for shrinking government fiscal allocations.

Were community colleges different institutions from the 1980s and previously, and what is an appropriate description in the 1990s?

Levy and Merry (1986) develop a conceptual framework for organizational change, premised upon the concept of second-order, fundamental and enduring change. Four categories of change are used in their framework: paradigmatic change, mission and purpose change, cultural change, and change in functional processes, including structures, management, technology, decision-making and communication patterns.

Paradigm. Paradigmatic change refers to alteration to the assumptions of those who are stakeholders and influencers of the organization. This change also suggests that the organizational world-view has altered: that organizational members define their institution differently and regard their institutional context as altered over time.

At the colleges studied, several assumptions remained in the 1990s relatively unchanged from the 1980s. These assumptions included the majority of traditional community college principles (Dennison & Levin, 1989), such as access to postsecondary education opportunities and a comprehensive curriculum.

Nonetheless, several organizational assumptions altered in the 1990s. These included new assumptions adopted and former assumptions discarded or modified. For example, the assumption about the primary role of the institution altered in the 1990s. In the 1970s and 1980s, the role of the community college could be said to be largely social and educational (Bogart, 1994; Cross, 1981; Cross & Fiedler, 1989; Dennison & Levin, 1989). But, by the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, this role began to shift to an economic one, if not in fact then in rhetoric in the literature (Dennison, 1995; Griffith & Conner, 1994; Roe, 1989). In the seven colleges in this investigation, there was substantial evidence to indicate that the colleges had altered their role to a predominantly economic one. Preparation for jobs, competing in a global economy, the engine of the economy, skills development, economic renewal for local communities, academic up-grading, and training and credentialing a competitive workforce were among the many similar characterizations of the institution, its goals and roles. Furthermore, college members were cognizant of a dramatically different environment from the 1980s, and this environment was economically driven.

The prevalence of electronic technology in everyday life and cognizance of both this prevalence and the necessity of its use formed another assumption present at these institutions. Unlike the 1980s where electronic technologies were gradually accepted as part of both administrative work and instruction, in the 1990s these colleges embraced electronic technologies as critical elements of both work and education. From student registration to financial accounting, from organizational communications to classroom and non-classroom based instruction, electronic technologies were viewed as indispensable.

A third assumption that altered from previous decades was the curricular role of community colleges, particularly in the baccalaureate degree area. This assumption was evident largely in the Canadian institutions, in Alberta and British Columbia. This altered assumption and its consequences challenge the traditional definition of a community college. At the institutions in Alberta and British Columbia, organizational members, especially administrators and faculty responsible for baccalaureate programs, no long viewed their institution as a two-year college. In Alberta, North Mountain College administrators referred to their college as an "undergraduate institution". In British Columbia, East Shoreline College administrators and faculty alike talked about their institution as a university. At Rural Valley College in British Columbia, organizational members were confused about and questioned the college's identity as either a community college or a university.

Mission and purpose. Mission and purpose refer to intentionality of organizational members and other stakeholders with respect to organizational actions and outcomes. Three areas where mission and purpose altered included fiscal resources, organizational identity and social activism. College members, especially administrators, pursued fiscal resources more deliberately and aggressively than in the past; college officials praised and valued entrepreneurial behaviors of organizational members and organizational units. College administrators endeavored to increase enrolments not because mission expansion motivated such action but rather because enrolments were economic commodities. Government funding in one way or another was tied to enrolments--a drop in enrolments for example equaled a drop in government fiscal allocations.

College members devoted more time to organizational image and status within the education sector than in the past. Suburban Valley Community College expended considerable energy in fostering an external image and in reinforcing that image internally among organizational members. The message at Suburban Valley Community College was that the institution was an innovative, high tech, and university transfer-oriented institution, superior to all competitors. North Mountain College administrators, board members, and some faculty promoted their institution as a superior "undergraduate institution", characterized by sophisticated programming and technology.

Finally, colleges gave considerable attention to multiculturalism and diversity. Hiring practices, curricula and extra-curricular activities reflected this change in purpose from largely passive in the previous decades to active in the 1990s. For example, City South Community College formalized a curricular requirement that associate degree students complete a cultural studies course. At the seven colleges, special units or structures, such as First Nations centers, meditation rooms, and affirmative action committees, were either created where they previously did not exist or were enlarged and formalized where they did exist in the past.

Culture. Cultural changes refer to beliefs, norms, and values of organizational members. While difficult to identify a single collective culture, it may be more appropriate to view an organization as comprised of various cultures, some ideographic, unique and expressive of a singular ethos, and others holographic, expressive of the attributes of a larger, institutional culture. Colleges in this investigation demonstrated several alterations in both members' and the corporate institution's articulated beliefs, norms and values, although these were in transition.

For example, there was more emphasis upon pluralism among various units within the institutions and little discussion about uniformity or "one big family". The belief was that the institutions had grown into larger and more complex organizations necessitating some fragmentation of units and independent actions from those units.

Norms altered, especially with respect to institutional work. Organizational members characterized their work by their efforts and time commitments. Administrators customarily worked on weekends as well as claiming work days of twelve to fourteen hours. Faculty, too, characterized themselves and their colleagues as burdened with large student numbers and heavy marking loads. For those faculty participating in distance education or using electronic technology for delivery, there were claims of additional time commitments to course development and preparation.

Norms related to student learning also altered. In the 1990s, new diction for describing the instructional process and educational outcomes became standard. Diction included "skills development", "employability skills", "outcomes based curriculum", "outcomes based assessment", "learner centered", "job ready", and "value added". The diction used to describe intellectual, moral, social, and personal development--a prevalent description the earlier decades (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Dennison & Gallagher, 1986)--was not evident.

Values altered, most notably shifting from an institutional framework to a corporate one. Faculty looked like and characterized themselves more as labor than in the past; administrators looked more like managers of companies. This corporate framework coincided with an economic agenda: secure resources; increase productivity; and achieve growth. The reliance upon numerous means to achieve these ends altered institutions, especially those such as North Mountain College, Suburban Valley Community College, and East Shoreline College. These college became more corporate, more business-like, and less like a local college of the 1970s.

Functional processes. Functional processes include structures, management, technology, decision-making, and communication patterns. Changing structures were evident in the development of new units, such as international education and distance education, the enlargement of others, such as contract training and language institutes, the establishment of formal committees, such as senates and strategic planning committees, and the diminution or eradication of instructional areas, such as specific vocational programs and remedial and developmental education. Vocational or remedial programs, or both, deteriorated or disappeared at City South Community

College, Pacific Suburban Community College, East Shoreline College, North Mountain College and Rural Valley College. Specific programs such as Secretarial or Office Management, pre-college courses, and community education were particularly vulnerable. Contract training and international education expanded, becoming major units of influence at the colleges studied.

Dramatic structural changes occurred as a result of legislation, re-organizations or re-structurings, and budget shortfalls. At Rural Valley College and East Shoreline College, for example, the legislated mandate to provide baccalaureate degrees altered curricular structures and added a substantial program area to these college. At North Mountain College, government cutbacks on annual budget allocations were responsible for an altered administrative structure and change to several program areas. At City South Community College, a mid-1990s re-structuring altered administrative structures and educational units, changing as well relationships between units and their members.

Management changed at these institutions, in style, in associations to other organizational levels, and with external organizations and in their relationships with collective bargaining units. The corporate management model of the colleges invariably led to a president's cabinet, if this did not exist before 1990. This corporate body became more removed from core operations, such as instruction, more strategic in its approach, and more connected to a larger system--whether that system was a district office or a government office. Managers at whatever level devoted more and more of their time to managing information and finances and less time to people, even though managers continued to meet face-to-face in committee meetings with other managers, selected faculty and staff, and sometimes students.

Most pronounced was the alteration to management and union relationships. In several institutions--North Mountain, Suburban Valley, and City Center--relationships grew increasingly strained over the decade. In other institutions--Rural Valley, City South, and Pacific Suburban--the relationship altered in nature: at Rural Valley a more formal relationship developed in the late 1990s; at City South and Pacific Suburban, the role of the system union-management relationship dominated and superseded local relationships. Greater formality between the parties, except for Pacific Suburban, struggles over compensation and job security, with less attention to language concessions in collective bargaining, and greater influence of government fiscal allocations upon bargaining characterized union-management relations in the

1990s.

Also evident in management alterations was the influence of external stakeholders--district offices, government agencies and government departments--in managers' work. The district chancellors at Suburban Valley and City South and the system president at Pacific Suburban appeared to be the chief executive officers of the respective college, with the local college president acting as a chief operating officer. At Rural Valley, East Shoreline, City Center, and North Mountain, college managers appeared from time to time to be at the mercy of government policy and funding behaviors.

As noted previously, new technologies and the increased use of computers altered both work and education significantly at these institutions. While email, fax, and voice mail were used in the 1980s, in the 1990s these undergirded institutional internal and external communications. Computers, used in colleges in the 1980s, were ubiquitous in the 1990s. Work that was enhanced by computers in the 1980s, such as written communications and financial accounting, was unimaginable without computers and computer systems in the 1990s. On-line student registration replaced in-person, paper-oriented registration and even telephone registration for courses.

In instruction, on-line and Web based instruction as well as interactive video began to replace traditional classroom instruction, albeit marginally. The ascendancy of the internet in the 1990s, the development of the Web, and improvements in video communications made previously used technologies obsolete. Faster computers, new communication and information processing systems, and new capabilities in moving information became necessities in the late 1990s as institutions devoted time and resources to "keep up" with external requirements and marketplace standards in electronic technologies.

The 1990s could be characterized by two contradictory trends in decision-making: greater employee participation and corporate-style management. Employee participation varied among the institutions, and these variations correlated with government legislation, collective bargaining agreements, and presidential preferences. In British Columbia, government legislation in the mid-1990s mandated an employee role in decision-making, requiring a form of shared governance for institutions. By the early 1990s, California 1988 legislation regarding employee participation in decision-making was interpreted state-wide and implemented with considerable variation among California's community college districts. At Suburban Valley Community

College, employee participation was problematic, combining a plethora of committees and institutional bodies ensuring employee involvement in the decision process with a rigid and entrenched union-management forum. In this forum, management rights were sufficient to enable management, particularly district office management, to exercise its authority in decision-making.

Corporate-style management, then, eroded the practice of employee participation, showing participation as an exercise in voice, not a critical component in decision-making, especially in the absence of legislative requirements for shared authority. Most employee groups took a practical and realistic view of participation in decision-making: they readily acknowledged their powerlessness in institutional decisions. Only in two colleges--East Shoreline College and Rural Valley College--both in British Columbia, were faculty convinced of their shared role in some institutional decisions, such as program content and student evaluation.

The rhetoric of participatory governance grew in the 1990s, but except in the case of the three British Columbia colleges, there was little evidence of the practice. As a consequence of increasing external demands, a more complex institutional environment, and institutional conformity to business and industry, college management, especially senior management, exercised their legal authority more blatantly. In collective bargaining, for example, management pursued and achieved increased managerial control in significant areas, such as contracting out of services and technological change.

With institutional growth, both in size and complexity, and with the availability of electronic technology, communication patterns altered in notable ways. Growth resulted in the proliferation of organizational units and in the diversity of organizational interests and members' needs. Colleges increasingly moved away from their condition of "one big family" in the 1970s and even in the 1980s; employees increasingly interacted primarily with unit members, especially in those colleges where physical facility and employee growth were evident. Committee operations and meetings, college newsletters, and email broadcasts became principal forms of institution-wide communications. Interpersonal communications relied more and more upon voice mail and email.

The use of voice mail and email as standard communication tools led to what was viewed as more frequent and informal communications. Memoranda and formal person-to-person meetings, the tools of earlier decades, were less in evidence in the

1990s. Electronic technologies permitted speed in communications, not possible previously. Email interaction could accomplish in a day what took one to two weeks in previous decades. This compression of time, relative to the past, affected the pace and quality of institutional work.

Technological change also affected patterns of communication, and networks of communications (e.g., user groups) replaced formal lines of communication. For example, union executive members, academic managers, and department heads could and did form Listservs, or a select group of receivers and senders, for email messages. Such a Listserv would ensure that (a) only that group would receive communications and (b) all of the group would receive every communication sent by any group member to another group member.

Somewhat inconsistent with the proliferation of electronic communications was a reported rise in committee meetings. Indeed, at several colleges, meetings dominated administrative work. At two colleges, managers noted that their principal role was to "attend meetings". These meetings had several functions, some symbolic or sensemaking, some for purposes of managerial coordination of work, and some to discuss and decide upon processes. With few exception, committee meetings were not decision-making venues; instead they were forums for communication.

What are the differences among institutions to be found along major variables?

Changes in the 1990s were connected to major variables, including national affiliation, specific geographical location, institutional size, programs, system configuration and leadership. In Canada, the institutions in Alberta and British Columbia exhibited close ties to provincial government departments and the ideology of provincial governments. Funding behaviors of government influenced institutional behaviors, and government policy was evident in institutional behaviors. In Alberta, government policy to shift the financial burden of government to taxpayers (Smith, 1992) and reduce public sector funding (Andrew, Holdaway & Mowat, 1997) had a dramatic effect upon the actions of North Mountain College and upon the thinking of organizational members. The college made a deliberate shift away from reliance upon government funds, altered its programming to reduce dependency and to increase its opportunities to secure private sector revenues. Additionally, college tuition fees rose so that students paid a greater percentage of the costs. Government behaviors actually led to a change in thinking on the part of many organizational members, especially managers.

In the U.S., college members did not exhibit the same association with government ideology as in Canada. Colleges were affected by financial allocation not by government policy, although some policies, such as affirmative action, did have impact. Other external organizations, primarily universities and specific businesses and industries, had more influence upon college behaviors in the U. S. than in Canada. For example, university positions with respect to remedial education affected two of the U.S. colleges.

Geographical location on a macro-level is shared among the seven colleges: Western North America and Pacific Rim. Although North Mountain College in Alberta is not located on the Pacific, the economic orientation of its city and province was decidedly Asia-Pacific (Palmer & Palmer, 1990). The Pacific Rim location and orientation was influential especially pronounced in the 1990s. For the seven colleges, the Asia-Pacific orientation was associated with international education and the recruitment of international students, the overwhelming majority from Asian countries. An Asia-Pacific orientation also influenced college programming. Furthermore, there was considerable accommodation of new immigrants at the colleges from Asian countries. As well, two colleges--North Mountain College and East Shoreline College--used their location as a rationale for associations with Mexican institutions, including the recruitment of students and institutional training agreements. College presidents at North Mountain and East Shoreline had prominent roles in international, particularly Pacific Rim, activities involving education and training.

Geography also contributed to the economic activity of a college's local community: from tourism to resource extraction, and from manufacturing to finance. Tourism was significant to Pacific Suburban, and college programs and services--culinary arts and hotel management training contracts--were prominent institutional activities. Resource extraction was critical to the vibrancy of North Mountain, and programs in environmental management and business were tied to the resource industry. Colleges located adjacent to major financial, manufacturing, and transportation centers such as Suburban Valley and City South, reflected their location, particularly in programming, such as computer technology and aircraft.

As the economic activities within the geographical location altered, so too did organizational behaviors. The rise and prominence of computer manufacturing adjacent to Suburban Valley had corresponding effects upon the college as it adopted and assumed an image of a high tech institution.

Social change, based to some extent upon geographical location, also affected institutions. This change was evident in increasing numbers of immigrants from non-European countries, especially non-English speaking countries. The pattern of immigration included increases in Asian immigrants in both the U. S. and Canada and refugees in the U.S. Increases in English language training programming was an apt example of college alteration based upon social change within a geographical location.

The effects of institutional size were contingent upon two factors: relative size and growth in size over the decade. Differentiation in both programs and in interpersonal and group relationships depended upon relative size of the institution. Larger colleges, such as North Mountain and Suburban Valley, had considerable program diversity with the exception that neither college offered more than a smattering of vocational programs. In the case of North Mountain, that role locally was given over to two other institutions. In the case of Suburban Valley, the college's traditional pattern of program offerings did not include vocational programs. The third relatively large college, City Center, offered a diversity of programs except for the academic and university transfer ones which ceased in the mid-1990s when the college was separated into two institutions. City Center became an institution without any substantial academic offerings; a former campus of the college became a college in its own right, and the academic and university transfer areas remained as a centerpiece of that institution.

Institutional growth in student population over the decade coincided with another change in organizational behaviors. As institutions expanded, more formality in relationships and more separateness of units and unit activity became the norm. At both Rural Valley and East Shoreline, where considerable growth in student population characterized the early and mid 1990s, organizational units became more independent from each other, especially at East Shoreline, and interpersonal relations lost some of their informality. Organizational members "who used to cross paths, rarely did". A contributing factor to these interpersonal changes was growth in facilities as considerable building construction in the 1990s resulted in office, classroom, and laboratory movement of personnel.

Program offerings were another variable that differentiated institutions. Less academically oriented institutions, such as City Center and City South, exhibited differences in governance and management. City Center and City South were more managerially directed and influenced than the other institutions. City Center organizational members were more conscious of union-management relations and guided more by these relations and agreements. City South organizational members assumed that managers--whether at the local or the district level--were the institution's decision makers, and these managers were relatively unfettered in their day-to-day operational actions.

Institutions with baccalaureate degrees, particularly East Shoreline and Rural Valley, exhibited a higher level of professional authority in institutional affairs than those colleges that did not offer the baccalaureate degree. Faculty at these institutions, especially faculty teaching in baccalaureate programs, were relatively autonomous in matters of curriculum and instruction. Furthermore, these faculty, especially at East Shoreline, were given considerable responsibility for managing their units through department chairs and for academic affairs through a senate-type body and related committees. Finally, at these two colleges, scholarly activity for baccalaureate degree faculty was required, not just permitted, and the scholarship mandate brought with it several behaviors, including peer assessment and non-teaching measures of productivity, which were different from other institutions' behaviors.

A third example of programmatic differentiation can be seen with respect to the offering of and perspectives on remedial programs. At colleges where remedial education was maintained throughout the decade--City South and City Center--the ideological value of the community college as a second chance, learner-focused and community responsive institution remained in tact. At colleges where remedial education became more peripheral to the overall curriculum, such as at North Mountain, Suburban Valley, and Pacific Suburban, high level programming became a predominant program focus. These behaviors were accompanied by institutional efforts to raise the college's profile and status externally.

Two other variables--system configuration and leadership--had complex and even uncertain influence upon organizational behaviors. System configuration comprised colleges as part of a district jurisdiction including one or more other colleges governed by a single college board; colleges as part of a provincial system of colleges, with each college governed by a single college board; and one college as part of a university system with both university and community colleges governed by a single governing board. The two colleges connected to districts were more independent of the state in their operations, especially in curricular and instructional matters, than the other colleges. The four colleges connected to a provincial system were relatively independent from government on instructional matters, save formal program approval and fiscal support for programs, but vulnerable to government ideology. Indeed, these four colleges over the decade became economic instruments of provincial governments. The one college which was part of a university system was relatively autonomous from the state on the one hand with respect to curriculum and instruction, but on the other hand tied to the state through the university in fiscal matters particularly.

Leadership, especially the actions of chief executive officers, district chancellors, and a community college system chief executive and a university president, played an influential role in organizational change. Effects of leaders' actions were diverse, from the cessation of remedial education programs at one college to the international stature of the institution at another. As a variable in organizational change, leaders' influence was related to at least two factors: length of leaders' tenure at the institution and leaders' professional background at their institution. Three of the college presidents, two of whom were long serving presidents, previously occupied other administrative and faculty positions at their institutions. This institutional familiarity and former colleague status with faculty gave these presidents a form of credibility with large numbers of faculty, who viewed these presidents, in some respects, as colleagues. In many cases at these three institutions, presidential decisions and behaviors were either accepted without question or rationalized as legitimate by most faculty. This was not the case for other college presidents who had no faculty background at their institutions or a relatively short tenure as president. Three college presidents were viewed as outsiders, and as such their actions were not seen as reflective of the college as a whole; they were viewed as management or executive action.

In the case of the district chancellors and the university president, as well as the chief executive officer for the system community colleges--four individuals in three systems--these individuals exhibited high public profiles and their actions were cited frequently by institutional members as noteworthy. These individuals were characterized as the embodiment of their respective systems. While viewed by organizational members as distant from their institution's operations, these four executives were judged to be stern, powerful figures. When serious and often negative institutional decisions were communicated in the organization, members attributed these decisions to the one of four executives.

What role, if any, has the Canada/U. S. Free Trade Agreement or the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) played in organizational change?

While the Canada/U.S. Trade Agreement and NAFTA do not have a prominent role in organizational behaviors, especially for U.S. colleges, NAFTA was cited at Canadian colleges as a framework or stimulator for increased activity with Mexico's higher education sector. There was no explicit reference to Canada and U. S. relationships among the colleges in this investigation.

Nonetheless, if NAFTA is viewed as a symbol of globalization, as a manifestation of changes in economics, politics, and culture that have been underway prior to the establishment of NAFTA (Brecher, 1993; Newson, 1994), then organizational behaviors are consistent with the assumptions and motivations of free trade agreements. These behaviors include increasing productivity by gaining efficiencies through labor costs and constrained government expenditures on the public sector. Decreasing government subsidization of the public sector and concomitant support from government for the private sector, both in policy and in resources, characterize the role of government in economic globalization and in free trade agreements. In the colleges in this investigation, labor costs per unit declined over the decade, either by increasing student numbers or decreasing full time employees relative to student population. The former was evident at Canadian colleges; the latter at U. S. colleges. Governments, state and provincial, conformed to the expectations of trade agreements by constraining their fiscal allocation to colleges. Although allocations increased over the decade, they did not match rising costs and represented a smaller percentage of college revenues than in the previous decade.

- Chapter 11: Globalization and beyond

What specific and common global forces have affected these institutions?

Globalization literature and globalization theory give a prominent and sometimes inflated role to economic behaviors as contributing factors and outcomes of globalization. This investigation of seven institutions reinforces the significant role of economic behaviors in globalization. But, there is more to globalization than economic behaviors, labor and capital, and market forces. Specifically, electronic technologies not only drive globalization, including economic globalization, but also have become part of the culture or behavioral patterns of globalization. Immigration, both its patterns and its sheer numbers, also contributes to globalization. Other factors, such as ideological shifts and media pervasiveness globally, are also contributors to globalization (Appadurai, 1990; Barnet & Cavanagh, 1994; Castells, 1996; Clegg & Gray, 1996; Dudley, 1998; Friedman, 1999; Lash & Urry, 1994; Waters, 1996).

For the seven colleges in this investigation, economics, electronic technology, and immigration patterns served as the dominant globalizing influences upon the institutions. Economics included the wide area of global production, government and private sector behaviors in response to a global economy, and fiscal resources. Electronic technology included computer based information and production processing technologies, communication technologies such as email, voice mail and video broadcasting, and software programs from financial accounting packages to content rich data sources which might be encyclopedic in nature. I refer to this technology grouping as production, communication, and knowledge technologies. And, finally, immigration patterns included the rationales for immigration, such as political upheaval, the geographical locations of immigration origination, essentially non-European and non-English speaking regions, and the demographic characteristics of immigrants, such as skill and income levels.

As noted elsewhere (Frank, 1994; Friedman, 1999, Robertson, 1992), globalization is not a new phenomenon. However, globalization in the 1990s was far different from and more influential than previously. The factors noted above were also not new phenomena: global economic behaviors, new technologies, and immigration pre-date not only the 1990s but also the 20th century. Yet, the nature of these factors, such as the reformation of management of production, the speed and capabilities of new technology, and the movement of large numbers of Asian immigrants to both

Canada and the U.S., were markedly different from previous decades.

These globalizing factors--production, communications, and immigration--were influential in altering organizational behaviors. Globally, there were shifts in production from material to information processing accompanied by changes in the management of production, in markets, and in labor requirements (Bridges, 1994; Castells, 1993; Reich, 1992; Rifkin, 1995). The pronounced shifts while developed in earlier decades were popularly identified with the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of the Soviet system (Friedman, 1999). Globalization during the past decade and a half, from the 1980s into the 1990s was generally acknowledged as a technological and managerial transformation of production and labor relationships (Castells, 1996) where economic values predominated (Reich, 1992) and where societies were equated with, or reduced to, economies (Clegg & Gray, 1996).

The seven colleges studied although varying along a continuum, reflected the globalizing process and reinforced globalization in their institutional relationships, demonstrating that organizations do provide the means through which globalization occurs (Clegg & Gray, 1996). This reflection and reinforcement were evident in the changing managerial ideology at colleges, with its emphasis upon education and training as commodities, the actions to align the institution with the marketplace, and the drive in operations for economic efficiency. Reflective of globalization, college managers relied upon new technologies to propel change in both work and education. And, with alteration to jobs, both in number and kind externally (Aronowitz & Di Fazio, 1994; Bridges, 1994; Rifkin, 1995)), college programming changed to meet perceived marketplace employment and workforce requirements. Largely as a consequence of government funding constraints, colleges sought new revenue sources, particularly from private citizens through increased fees from international students and from business and industry, as well as higher tuition fees from non-international students. Colleges worked at increasing production efficiencies and did not contract production; rather colleges endeavored to expand production with fewer or the same revenues relative to institutional size.

North Mountain College experienced a 19% decrease in government funding over a three year period, yet college enrolments grew over the decade. Rather than restrain college growth, managers re-structured the organization, and greater efficiencies were realized. Furthermore, by re-structuring, North Mountain developed new revenue sources.

As instruments of government, East Shoreline College and Rural Valley College were expected to respond to marketplace needs for a highly trained workforce which required advance academic credentials. New government funding was provided to these institutions in the early 1990s for instruction, administration, and facilities in order to provide baccalaureate degree programming. These programs included both occupationally related education and training and academic education suitable for post-baccalaureate and professional preparation. Occupation goals included nursing, childcare, teaching, business management, criminology, computer engineering and software design, applied arts, such as interior design, and the professions of medicine, law, and engineering. Student enrolments grew rapidly; faculty labor increased; facilities were added to the institutions. Government allocations did not keep pace, however, with growth. Yet, government policy and government funding incentives increased institutional productivity and helped to serve marketplace requirements. Nonetheless, in pursuing these goals, Rural Valley and East Shoreline became dramatically different institutions from previous decades..

Electronic technologies accompanied production alterations and enabled higher levels of productivity. This use of electronic technologies mirrored globalizing trends: electronic technologies to drive production (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 1994), to change labor and management and labor and labor relationships (Castells, 1996), and to improve efficiencies (Bridges, 1994). Colleges adopted various computer based systems for enrolment and financial management in the 1990s. These systems altered production and relationships, and increased operational efficiencies.

Along similar lines of technological change, communications patterns and levels of communications changed over the decade with the addition of such tools as email and voice mail. New "network structures" evolved through the use of email; groups of "users" became established; and new relationships among "users" developed. At City Center College, while managers used email extensively, large numbers of faculty and support staff did not use email. At Suburban Valley Community College, large numbers of faculty did not have access to email and relied upon voice mail, whereas other faculty and managers used email principally. At several institutions, managers depended upon email among unit members as the primary communication vehicle. Voice mail as well as email use led to the accomplishment of work outside of offices, for example in automobiles and at home. Workers were available, theoretically, 24 hours a day. Work which formerly went through an outer office or assistant moved directly to managers and then from managers directly to faculty and staff, as well as to other managers. These practices changed work patterns and work relationships.

Established patterns of communication altered in these institutions, driven by both the availability of electronic technologies and by external requirements or standards. As more and more information was available, and sometimes only available, on-line and more and more person-to-person communication was carried on through electronic mail, standard practices of previous decades became either obsolete or severely curtailed. In information dissemination, libraries and administrative offices lost their role as information centers and warehouses. For example, institutional data was more likely to be found at an institution's Web site than in an administrative office. In communications, college-wide meetings and memoranda as communication vehicles were rare, and messages by electronic mail were either posted on an electronic bulletin board or distributed to email users.

Traditional organizational behaviors altered as well as a consequence of changing student demographics. Large numbers of Asian immigrants settled in the communities served by the college, with the exception of Pacific Suburban Community College where Asian immigrants settled in the community in large numbers in previous decades. Public views towards these immigrants were ambivalent: on the one hand, social attitudes and government policy characterized and valued a multicultural society; on the other hand, public articulations and public polls reflected widespread negative reactions to immigrants (Palmer & Palmer, 1990; Schrag, 1998; Strong-Boag, 1996).

Immigrants from Asia reinforced the Asia-Pacific connection of geographical locations of the seven institutions. With large numbers designated immigrants requiring English language training and many in need of skills development as well as socialization to their new country, local and relatively inexpensive public colleges served as principal sources of education and training of adult immigrants. The influence of global cultures, especially Asian, upon both Canadian and U.S. society was reflected in both curriculum and extra curricular activities at these institutions. City South Community College offered a course on world music, largely non-Western. Pacific Suburban Community College's curriculum gave particular emphasis to Asian and South Pacific content. East Shoreline College used Asian and Pacific Central American locations as off-campus sites for practical application for both students and faculty. At all institutions, enrolments in English as a second language grew in the 1990s; international student numbers from Asian countries increased significantly; and college events and activities not only promoted multiculturalism but also gave considerable attention to Asian cultures.

How have institutions responded to these forces and with what outcomes?

In response to global forces--particularly production, communication and immigration--colleges not only reinforced and reproduced globalization but also altered as institutions. Globalizing outcomes included the surrender to a market ideology, with privatization of goods and services and the commodification of products (Gephart Jr., 1996). Ritzer (1998) and Ralston Saul (1995) see institutions becoming consumer oriented, aligned with the needs of the market. Ritzer sees educational institutions as McDonald's-like, exhibiting production characteristics of predictability, efficiency and managerial control. Ralston Saul (1995) views public education as responsive primarily to the job market. Dudley (1998) sees education and training as an instrument of economic policy, with emphasis upon markets for economic conservative policy and upon high skills and high wages for neo-liberal policy. Marginson (1997) notes that the state has transformed its citizens into economic entities with education as a vehicle for economic objectives.

The seven institutions in this investigation exhibited a number of behaviors consistent with the observations of scholars for other sectors. Colleges became more market oriented in their goals and more business-like in the behaviors. Colleges expanded their traditional mission by enlarging workforce training and by emphasizing skills development. This resulted in a more overt concentration upon private sector interests and reflected changing priorities for student learning.

The shift of community colleges to an entrepreneurial focus and to a more overt economic role is linked to both government funding and government policy. Thus, colleges were more decidedly instruments of government, particularly economic interests, than in the past and yet less dependent for their total revenues upon government. At the extreme, college became several institutions, structured within one institution. They were multi-institutions, combing an entrepreneurial college, with a workforce training center, and yet they preserved much of the traditional institution, comprised of a comprehensive curriculum and open admissions practices. In the 1990s, community colleges maintained democratic principles, most notably open access to educational opportunities, a characteristic of "democracy's college" and responded more emphatically to corporate and economic interests of the community. The shift was from community service to private sector interests while preserving and expanding education and training opportunities for community members. Whether this alteration can be considered contradictory outcomes (Larabee, 1997) is moot.

Student learning priorities shifted from an acclaimed focus upon individual development and career and educational preparation to skills development and workforce training. Marketplace interests and employment training and re-training motivated institutional programming patterns. While traditional vocational programs in several cases deteriorated, both in enrolments and in resources, vocationalism insinuated itself in higher level programming, such as business and computer oriented programs and especially in Canadian institutions in baccalaureate programs. Decidedly less priority was given to remediation and to developmental education. At Pacific Suburban and North Mountain, these program areas were removed from the credentialing structure of the institutions and either became part of the revenue generating structure or were shunted off to other institutions. At East Shoreline and Rural Valley, as the curricular priorities focused upon higher level credentials, remediation and personal development slipped in institutional priority. City Center was the lone institution that either did not abandon or retreat from remediation or personal development. In contrast to other colleges, City Center, as a result of losing substantial programming areas including academic programs when its third campus became an independent college, did not shift its curricular focus to more advanced programs. Nonetheless, undergirding its attention to remediation and personal development was the more strident articulations of City Center managers and the language of college planning documents that programming was directed at employment. City Center's increasing reliance upon English as a second language programming for revenues was a dependency upon federal government funding, allocated not so much for citizenship but for job preparation.

The changing institutional priorities to student learning included instructional delivery as well as curriculum. Moving in a direction similar to the ubiquitous claim of a paradigm shift in postsecondary education from teaching to learning (Barr & Tagg, 1995; Dolence & Norris, 1995), all institutions justified institutional practices from distance education to computer based instruction as "learner-centered". Institutional rationales paralleled the view of education and training as a commodity, students as customers, and business and industry as clients--all reinforcing market ideology.

Institutional change in this direction followed student, employer, and government preferences. Enrolments in Canadian institutions rose substantially over the decade, modestly at Pacific Suburban, and they were relatively unchanged at Suburban Valley and City South. Institutional revenues increased significantly in the 1990s, even with claims of government funding constraints. Tuition fees, contract service revenues, and temporary, non-base budget, and often competitive, government grants comprised a greater share of institutional revenues, suggesting that resource providers including the private sector were favorably impressed with institutional responsiveness to economic interests. To what extent this shift to more job market responsiveness at higher costs to students affected both students and community members, who were not students, is uncertain. Neither institutions nor governments possessed reliable data on student outcomes, such as job placements in program related fields. And, no data existed that suggested if there was unmet demand for education and training, for example community members who could not afford college or who had needs different from those satisfied by college programming.

Do the findings from this investigation suggest predictable patterns: what does this suggest for the first decade of the 21st century?

This study demonstrates the expansion of mission, the growth in services, the elaboration of structures, the accommodation of more students, and increasing attention to new methods of instructional delivery and instructional strategies during the 1990s. The pattern of the 1990s indicates rising expenditures to support these behaviors. In order to meet the associated expenses and to acquire fiscal resources, community colleges and colleges will turn increasingly to the private sector--unless governments significantly increase their allocations. It does not appear from this investigation that colleges will contract their missions unless that occurs in the vocational, developmental and remedial areas where private businesses could replace colleges' responsibilities.

With increasing reliance upon fee payers and business and industry, college programs and services will inevitably reflect the needs and requirements of resource providers. This suggests a decrease in the social community role of community colleges and an increase in the economic role. It also suggests that instruction will develop in line with the needs of educational users. This is likely to include more work based training, more non-classroom instruction that relies upon computer related technologies, and greater emphasis upon employability skills.

For the early decades of the 21st century, the pressures to provide education and training to a diverse student population to serve community economic interests and to support institutional operations with more fiscal resources will no doubt increase. As a result, institutions will be caught between the need to turn more to the private sector for funds, especially fee payers, and meeting community needs for traditional education, such as literacy and cognitive development. Simultaneously, institutions will face identity pressures, whether that be to preserve traditional community college missions and values or to expand into a higher status postsecondary institution. The pattern established in the 1990s toward a more corporate and business-like approach to education and the more traditional education and socializing function of college is likely to be of central concern to governments in as much as they respond to public opinion as well as to private sector interests.

What can institutional stakeholders (e.g., government, college managers, business and industry, faculty, governing boards) learn from the results of this research?

Two institutional motivations--the drive for organizational growth and the drive for institutional status--were twin influences upon organizational change for the community colleges in this investigation, But, these influences do not seem to be compatible in the long run given the fiscal circumstances of the institutions. Growth in a constrained fiscal environment requires increasing efficiencies, and quality, either measurable or perceptual, diminishes. Institutional status is dependent upon quality, whether measurable or perceptual, or both. To grow, community colleges require more students and this in the past has resulted in larger teaching loads for faculty or the hiring of less well-paid faculty--part-time and temporary--to accommodate the increased students numbers without an equally increased expenditure plan. If fiscal growth cannot keep pace with growth in activities and services, then quality will diminish. While accommodating ever more student numbers, community colleges face a choice of educating these students less well or changing what students learn.

The pressures from government, business and industry, as well as from formal institutional leaders, for greater productivity and greater efficiencies and thus reduced per unit costs will result in negative outcomes unless these stakeholders want learning to alter. Such an alteration might include less emphasis upon critical literacy (Richardson, Fisk, & Okun, 1983) and more upon basic literacy: that is, more attention to and competence with regurgitation of information and less attention to comprehension and analytical skills. Although basic literacy may be of assistance to employers and employees in assembly-line or routinized work, higher level skills are needed for knowledge work. Without recognition of the difference between basic skills--grade 5 or 6 level reading, for example--and analytical skills--recognition of structures and values, for example--learners at community colleges will be relegate to a bottom tier of the workforce. In this vein, colleges will further advance the growing gap in both North American society and globally between the haves and the have nots, reproducing the "winners and losers" effects of globalization.

On the other hand, if colleges neglect the needs of lower skilled and lower cognitively developed students, it is uncertain if this group will be or can be served elsewhere. With literacy as a serious problem, especially in the workforce (National Council for Occupation Education and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1990), both Canada and the U. S. face the third millennium with not only a paucity of knowledge workers but also workers inadequately prepared to keep up with global production standards.

There is a striking lack of research and accessible data related to these challenges, and this condition constitutes a first-line of action for institutional stakeholders. Institutions do not collect or systematically organize data on student outcomes, including learning and post-college outcomes (e.g., job placements). Considerable attention is given to program evaluation and to student assessment, but without, for example, a comprehensive, longitudinal data base on job placements for former students in vocational and occupational programs, and analysis of results, then assessments of students in these program have little saliency.

A similar concern applies to instructional delivery. The embrace of new or expanded forms of delivery, whether internet or Web based, broadcast television or interactive video, without appropriate and reasonable validation is not a responsible action for college officials. Without validation, only time will be the judge of whether the practice is a fad or a beneficial activity, and the potential for a waste of resources and for deleterious student outcomes is considerable. Considerable damage can occur as more effective delivery methods are abandoned or relegated to a lower status.

The extent to which colleges are meeting or neglecting the needs of all potential students is unknown. While mission expansion of colleges in the 1970s in both the U.S. and Canada opened access and was responsible for massive institutional growth (Dennison & Gallagher, 1986; Richardson et al., 1983), there is little consciousness of what groups were neglected in the 1990s and will continue to be neglected in the 21st century. This investigation suggests that neglected groups may comprise those in need of remedial and developmental education, those without adequate finances, and those in the community with recreational and non-economic interests such as senior citizens who have social and intellectual, not vocational, ones.

Student learning needs and outcomes and instructional practices are one half of the dilemma that faces stakeholders. The second half is the nature of institutional work. Both change to work activities and workload of organizational members were identified in this investigation. Administrative work altered, with greater pressure for efficient production and increase in the duration and pace of work. Faculty work altered in various ways, including responding more directly to management and institutional priorities as well as to public and private sector requirements for employable workers. Faculty workloads tended to increase, with respect to time devoted to communication and in several institutions to meetings. Also, with a shift to more part-time faculty, greater responsibilities devolved to full-time faculty, in their institutional service and administrative tasks. The use of electronic technoiogy increased faculty work, particularly in instructional preparation. Student numbers in many instructional areas grew, and faculty were responsible for increasing numbers of students. Finally, support staff, reportedly fewer in number than in the 1980s relative to institutional size, reported increased workloads and greater demands upon them from both administrators and faculty alike. The proliferation of electronic technology increased their workloads as institutional expectation rose with new technological capabilities and with the rising speed of information processing and communication.

Stakeholders especially governing board members, union and management leaders as well as responsible government officials, while likely cognizant of the working conditions of institutional employees did not made any major overt efforts to mitigate these conditions. With aging employees and increasing work demands, both personal welfare and work outputs might suffer without intervention. In one jurisdiction, a government official wrote to college presidents following the recent deaths of two higher education leaders, and suggested that health check-ups were in order--hardly an antidote to escalating demands from external constituents such as governments and the ever-expanding workload expected of college managers.

The previous discussion of the serious conditions experienced by college members in the 1990s and the dilemmas facing colleges in the 21st century leads to more than a warning. In Appendix F, I offer specific recommendations for practitioners so that the matters identified in this chapter can be addressed in a positive fashion. The recommendations are based upon my empirical findings in this investigation. These recommendations and the previous discussion, however, are not intended to detract from the notable work accomplished by college members.

The achievements of community colleges in the three decades previous to the 1990s were not abandoned in the 1990s. The first decade of the 21st century may become a watershed period where the road taken in the past is altered to such an extent that a new form of organization emerges. In the 1990s, community colleges became more sophisticated, more business-like, and more efficient institutions. They were taken more seriously by business, industry and government as important components of economic development. They played a more prominent role in U.S. government federal policy, particularly for the Clinton administration than previously (Reich, 1994a; Reich 1994b). In both Alberta and British Columbia, colleges were given a central education and training role in government planning for economic renewal (Province of Alberta, 1994; Province of British Columbia, 1996).

Global forces of change have contributed to the actions of these institutions, and the colleges have furthered the globalization process in their actions. The global context for the community college is not that of an institution that provides international education or one that interacts with institutions or agencies in other countries. Rather, the global context has become internalized, both reflected in and reproduced by the ideology of economic efficiency, productivity, and the commodification of education and training. Cultural and social aspects of globalization such as multiculturalism and global concerns such as human rights and ecological preservation, while certainly evident at these institutions, may become more significant in the coming decades if economic interests do not dominate institutional actions.

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Appendix A: Demographic tables

1. Jurisdictions:

- Canada
- Alberta
- British Columbia

- U.S.
- California
- Hawaii
- Washington

2. College regions:

- Suburban Valley
- East Shoreline
- City Central
- City South
- Pacific Suburban
- Rural Valley
- North Mountain

Note:

Data obtained and displayed represent several approaches of data collection and display. In some cases, official data were not available for the specified period and therefore investigator calculations were required. In one case, the regional boundaries altered during the period of this investigation and a public official manipulated official data sources to arrive at applicable data sets for this investigation. In another case, the investigator was required to estimate percentage change during the 1990s when not all years were available as data sets.

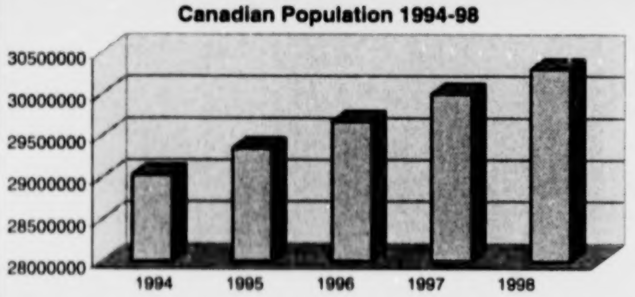
The data are not intended to convey historically verifiable figures--this would require much more extensive primary research than was intended for this investigation. Rather, data here are sets publicly available and compilations of government offices. The data, then, are displayed to represent trends, such as changes in populations, in unemployment rates, and in jobs.

Canada

Population

Year	People
1994	29036000
1995	29353900
1996	29671900
1997	30004000
1998	30300400

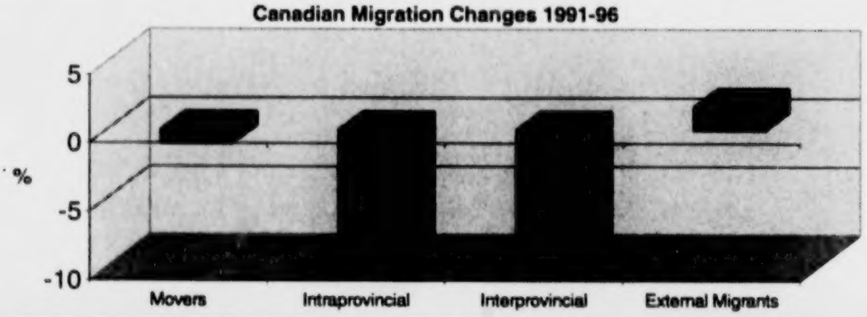
Source Code: #1



Migration

	1991	1996	% Change
Movers	11637180	11524725	-0.97
Intraprovincial	3970595	3575025	-10
Interprovincial	977050	890270	-8.89
External Migrants	913320	928690	1.7

Source Code: #2

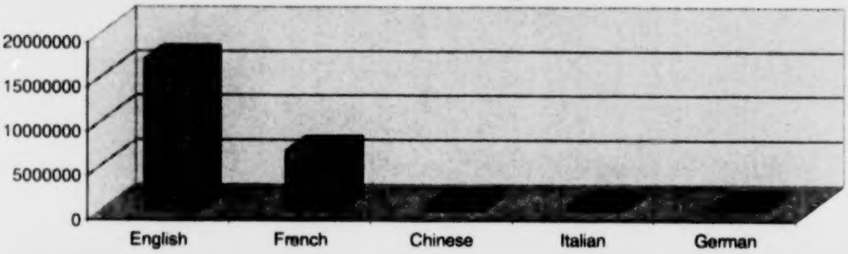


Population By Mother Tongue 1996

English	16890615	**Punjabi**	201785
French	6636660	**Ukranian**	162695
Chinese	715640	**Arabic**	148555
Italian	484500	**Dutch**	133805
German	450140	**Tagalog**	133215
Polish	213410	**Greek**	121180
Spanish	212890	**Vietnamese**	106515
Portuguese	211290	**Cree**	76840

Source Code: #3

Population By Mother Tongue 1996

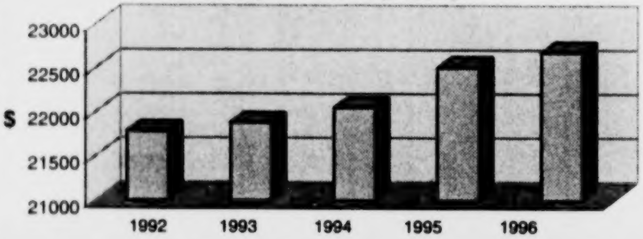


Per Capita Income

Year	Income
1992	21784
1993	21881
1994	22052
1995	22507
1996	22681

Source Code: #4

Per Capita Income (CDN $)



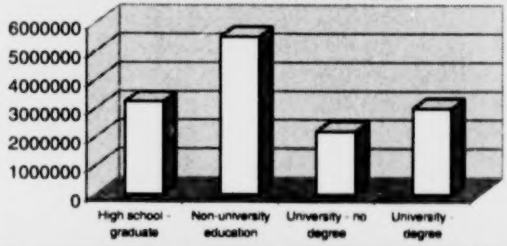
Educational Attainment

Population 15 and over

High school - graduate	3238590
Non-university education	5487505
University - no degree	2196885
University - degree	3000780

Source Code: #5

Educational Attainment 1996

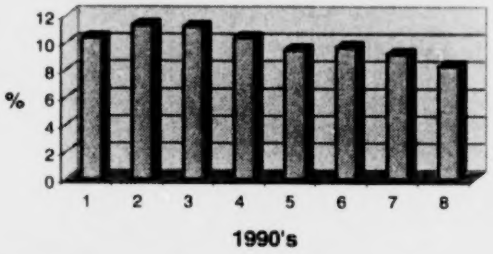


Unemployment

Year	%
1991	10.4
1992	11.3
1993	11.2
1994	10.4
1995	9.5
1996	9.7
1997	9.2
1998	8.3

Source Code: #6

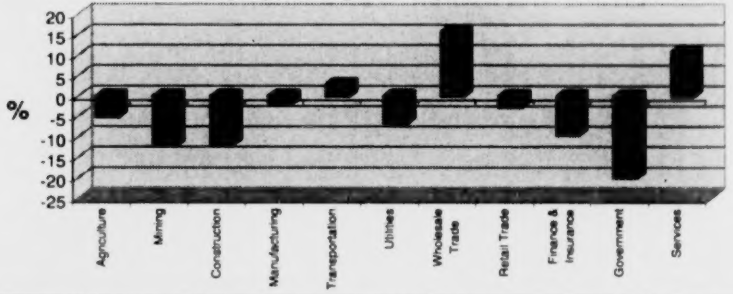
Canadian Unemployment 1991-98



Employment By Industry

	1991	1996	%Change
Agriculture	512335	485605	-5.2
Mining	192025	168320	-12.3
Construction	933425	822345	-11.9
Manufacturing	2084110	2039845	-2.1
Transportation	581810	598925	2.9
Utilities	479185	446770	-6.8
Wholesale Trade	614345	711820	15.87
Retail Trade	1831350	1781250	-2.7
Finance & Insurance	576860	522070	-9.5
Government	1111385	887450	-20.1
Services	4906040	5439010	10.86

Source Code: #7



Employment by Industry 1991-96

Source #1:	Statistics Canada. "Canadian Statistics- Population, Canada, the Provinces and Territories". Statistics Canada, CANSIM, Matrices 6367-6379: Accessed April 1999.
Source #2:	Statistics Canada. "Canadian Statistics- Population 5 Years and Over by Mobility Status, 1991 and 1996 Census". Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Nation Tables: Accessed April 1999.
Source #3:	Statistics Canada. "Canadian Statistics - Population By Mother Tongue, 1996 Census". Statistics Canada 1996 Census Nation Tables: Accessed April 1999.
Source #4:	BC Stats. (1997). "Economic Activity". BC Ecomomic Accounts: Table 1. British Columbia Economic Accounts 1987-1996.
Source #5:	Statistics Canada. "Canadian Statistics- Population 15 Years and Over by Highest Level of Schooling 1996 Census". Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Nation Tables: Accessed April 1999.
Source #6:	BC Stats. (1999). "Labour Force Data for B.C. and Canada". Statistics Canada.
Source #7:	Statistics Canada. "Canadian Statistics- Labour Force 15 Years and Over by Industry Groups, 1986, 1991, and 1996 Censuses". Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Nation Tables: Accessed April 1999.

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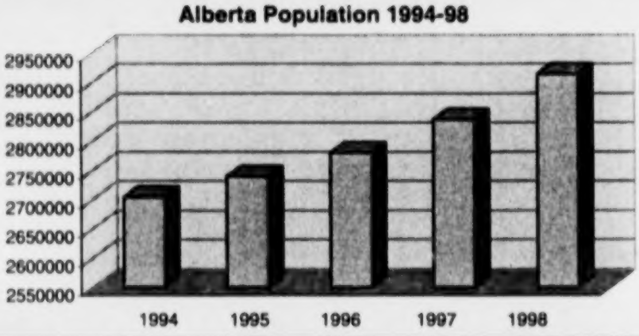
Alberta

Population

Year	People
1994	2704900
1995	2739900
1996	2780600
1997	2837800
1998	2914900

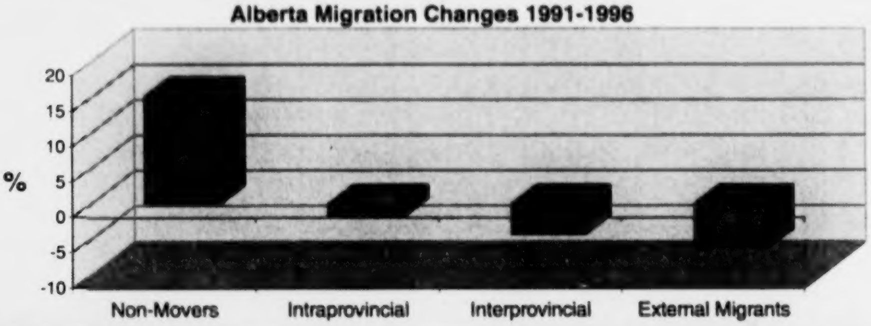
Source Code: #1



Migration

	1991	1996	% Change
Non-Movers	1081105	1244925	15.2
Intraprovincial	296840	291200	-1.9
Interprovincial	170015	162645	-4.3
External Migrants	74890	70250	-6.2

Source Code: #2



Population by Mother Tongue

English	2159275	**Ukranian**	36545
French	52380	**Polish**	21365
German	76045	**Dutch**	19570
Chinese	73550	**Spanish**	17690

Source Code: #3

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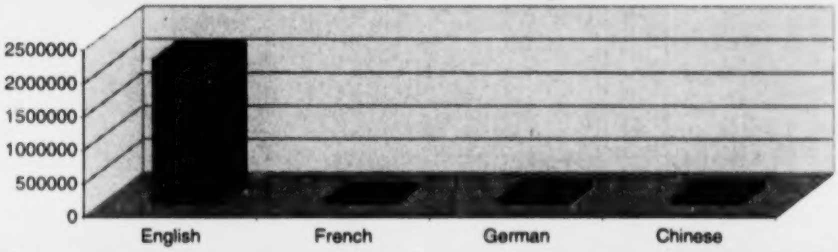
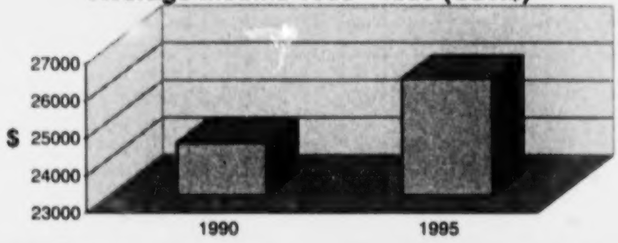


Population by Major Mother Tongue 1996

Per Capita Income

Year	$
1990	24418
1995	26138

Source Code: #4



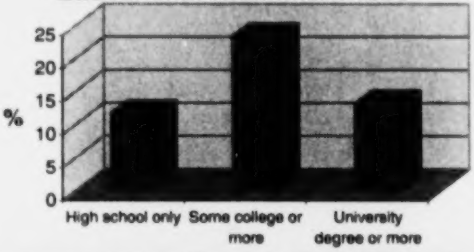
Average Income 1990 - 1995 (CDN$)

Educational Attainment

Population 15 years and over

Percentage with	
High school only	11.8
Some college or more	23.5
University degree or more	13.27

Source Code: #5

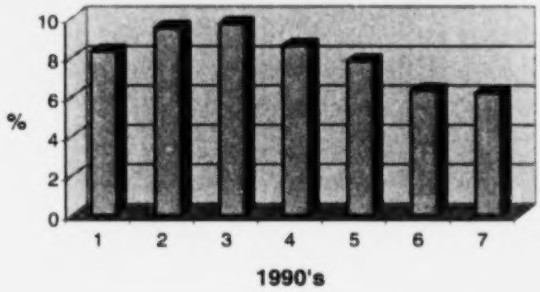


Educational Attainment 1996

Unemployment

Year	%
1991	8.3
1992	9.5
1993	9.7
1994	8.6
1995	7.8
1996	6.3
1997	6.2

Source Code: #6



Unemployment Rates 1991-97

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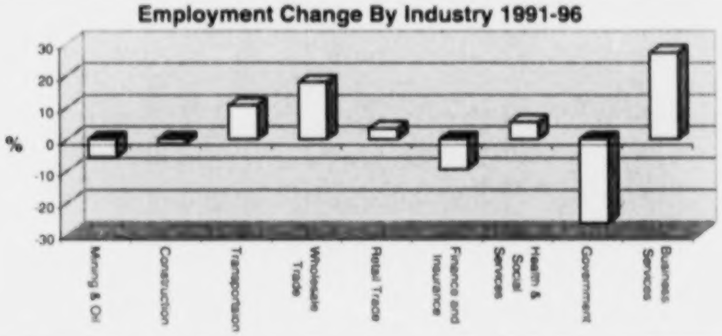
Employment by Industry 1991-96

	1991	1996	%Change
Mining & Oil	79690	75200	-5.6
Construction	102090	100675	-1.39
Transportaion	65150	72145	10.74
Wholesale Trade	64565	76110	17.9
Retail Trade	172200	178130	3.4
Finance and Insurance	44215	40070	-9.4
Health & Social Services	125780	132610	5.4
Government	102470	75410	-26.4
Business Services	80060	101795	27.15

Source Code: #7


Employment Change By Industry 1991-96

Source #1:	Statistics Canada, "Population Matrice", Canadian Statistics- Population, Canada, the Provinces and Territories: Accessed April 1999.
Source #2:	Statistics Canada, "Population 5 Years and Over by Mobility Status" 1991 and 1996 Censuses:Accessed April 1999.
Source #3:	Statistics Canada, "Population by Mother Tongue", 1996 Census: Accessed April 1999.
Source #4:	Statistics Canada, " Selected Income Statistics for Individuals, Families, and Households", 1991 and 1996 Censuses: Accessed April 1999.
Source #5:	Statistics Canada, "Population 15 Years and Over by Highest Level of Schooling", 1996 Census. Accessed: April 1999.
Source #6:	Calgary Economic Development Authority. (1998). Unemployment & Labour Force Participation Rates For Calgary and Alberta 1985-1997.Statistics Canada, CAT. No. 71-001, relevant years: Accessed April 1999.
Source #7:	Statistics Canada, "Labour Force 15 Years and Over by Industry Divisions and Major Groups, for Canada ,Provinces and Territories, 1986-1996 Censuses:Accessed June 1999.

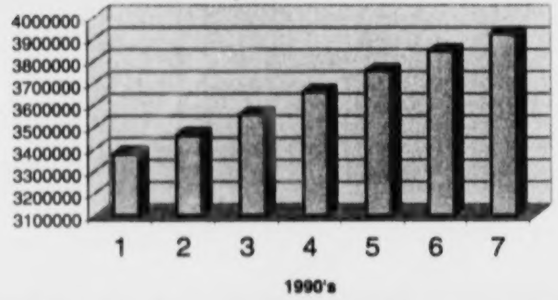
British Columbia

Population

Year	People
1991	3379346
1992	3463648
1993	3557304
1994	3659891
1995	3753980
1996	3843647
1997	3921546

Source Code: #1

B.C. Population 1991-97

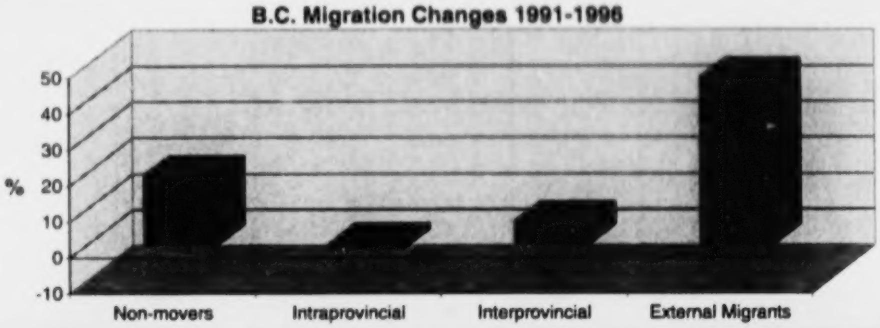


Migration

	1991	1996	% Change
Non-movers	1320285	1570900	18.9
Intraprovincial	547945	541025	-1.3
Interprovincial	238175	252625	6.1
External Migrants	147035	214520	45.9

Source Code: #2

B.C. Migration Changes 1991-1996



B.C. Distribution of Ethnic Identity 1996

	%		%
Chinese	8.1	Total Visible Minorities	17.9
South Asian	4.3	Multiple Origins	0.3
Filipino	1.3	Aboriginal Origin	3.8
Japanese	0.8	Other Origins	3.1

Source Code: #3

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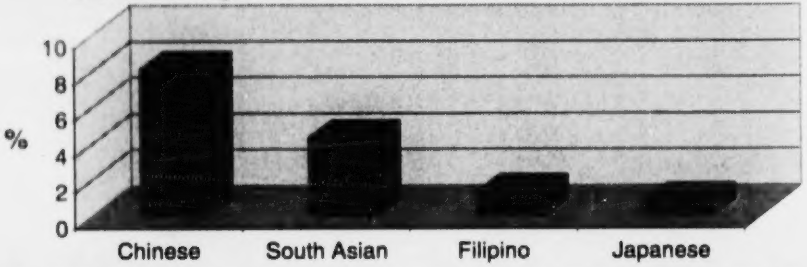
B.C. Percentage of Population by Visible Ethnic Identity 1996

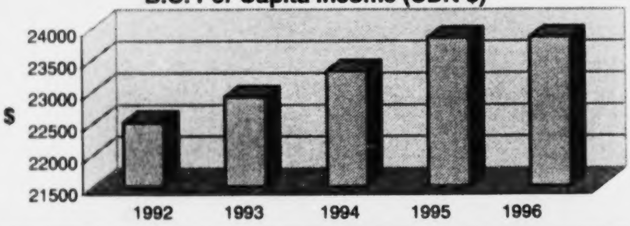


Per Capita Income

Year	Income
1992	22516
1993	22914
1994	23322
1995	23846
1996	23856

Source Code: #4

B.C. Per Capita Income (CDN $)



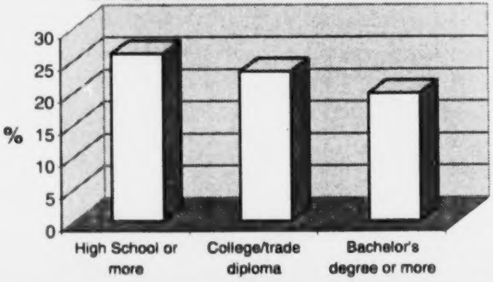
Educational Attainment

Population 15 years and over

Percentages with	
High School or more	26
College/trade diploma	23.2
Bachelor's degree or more	19.8

Source Code: #5

Educational Attainment 1996

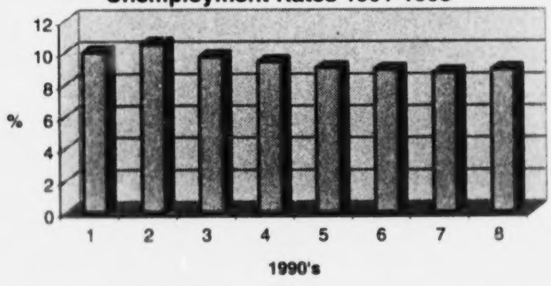


Unemployment

Year	%
1991	10
1992	10.5
1993	9.7
1994	9.4
1995	9
1996	8.9
1997	8.7
1998	8.9

Source Code: #6

Unemployment Rates 1991-1998



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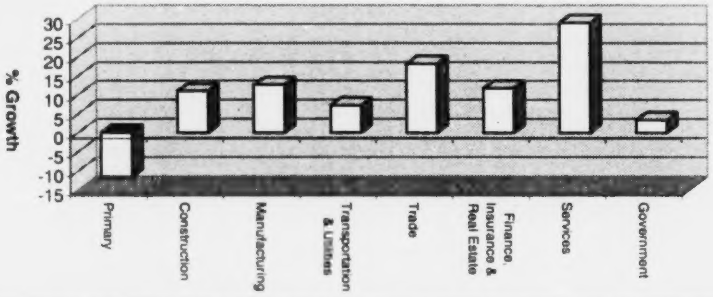
Employment by Industry

	1991	1998	% Change
Primary	86000	76000	-11.6
Construction	110000	122000	10.9
Manufacturing	183000	206000	12.6
Transportation & Utilities	138000	148000	7.2
Trade	287000	339000	18.1
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	94000	105000	11.7
Services	600000	774000	29
Government	89000	92000	3.4

Source Code: #7

Employment Growth By Industry 1991-1998



Source #1: BC Stats (1998). British Columbia Regional District Historical Population 1991-1997, Corresponding to P.E.O.P.L.E. Projection Run 23, Regional District July 1 Population Estimates.

Source #2: BC Stats (1998)."Focus on Mobility and Migration in BC", 1996 Census Fast Facts.

Source #3: BC Stats (1998). "Distribution of Ethnic Identity in B.C. - 1996", 1996 Census of Canada.

Source #4: BC Stats (1997). "Economic Activity", British Columbia Economic Accounts 1987-1996.

Source #5: BC Stats (1998). "Fraser-Ft. George Regional District Social Profile", BC Ministry of Education and Statistics Canada - 1996 Census.

Source #6: BC Stats (1999). "Labour Force Data for B.C. and Canada", Statistics Canada.

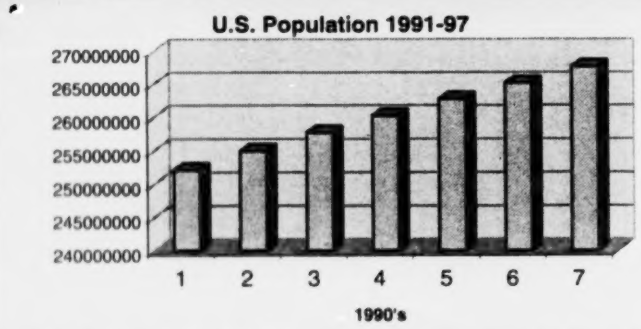
Source #7: BC Stats (1999). "Employment by Industry in British Columbia", Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey (Unpublished data).

United States

Population

Year	People
1991	252124362
1992	255001827
1993	257752702
1994	260292437
1995	262760639
1996	265179411
1997	267636061

Source Code: #1

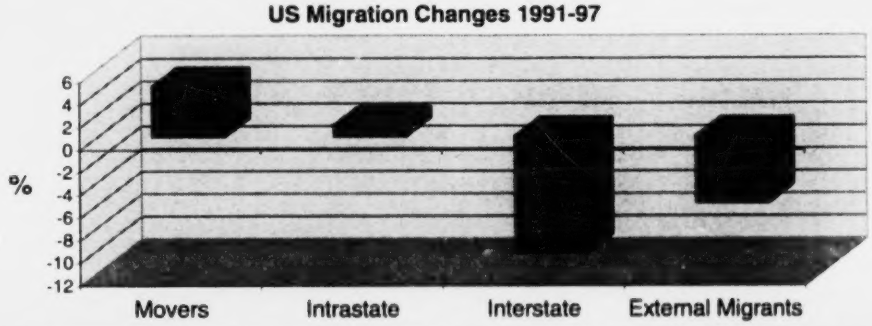


U.S. Population 1991-97

Migration

	1991	1997	% Change
Movers	41539000	43391000	4.4
Intrastate	7881000	7960000	1
Interstate	7122000	6389000	-10.3
External Migrants	1385000	1303000	-5.9

Source Code: #2



US Migration Changes 1991-97

Percentage of Population by Race

	1990	1998	%Change
White *	75.6	72.3	-4.4
Hispanic	9.1	11.3	24.2
Black*	11.8	12.1	2.5
American Native Peoples*	0.7	0.7	0
Asian and Pacific Islander*	2.8	3.6	28.6

* Not Hispanic

Source Code: #3

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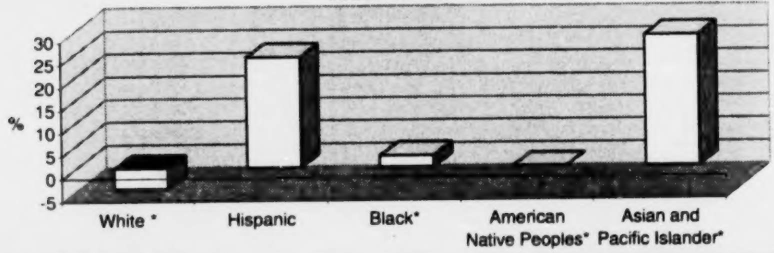
Change in Percentage of Population by Race 1990 - 1998

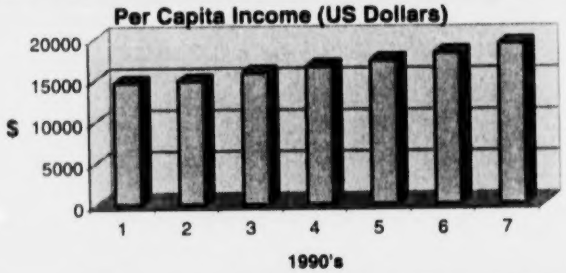


Per Capita Income

Year	Income
1991	14617
1992	14847
1993	15777
1994	16555
1995	17227
1996	18136
1997	19241

Source Code: #4

Per Capita Income (US Dollars)

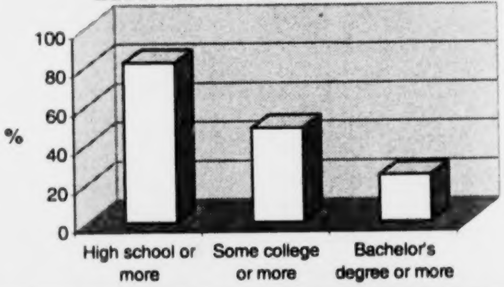


Educational Attainment

Population 25 and over	170581000
Percentages with	
High school or more	82.1
Some college or more	48.3
Bachelor's degree or more	23.9

Source Code: #5

Educational Attainment 1997

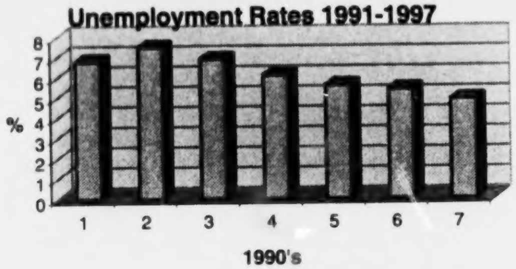


Unemployment

Year	%
1991	6.8
1992	7.5
1993	6.9
1994	6.1
1995	5.6
1996	5.4
1997	4.9

Source Code: #6

Unemployment Rates 1991-1997



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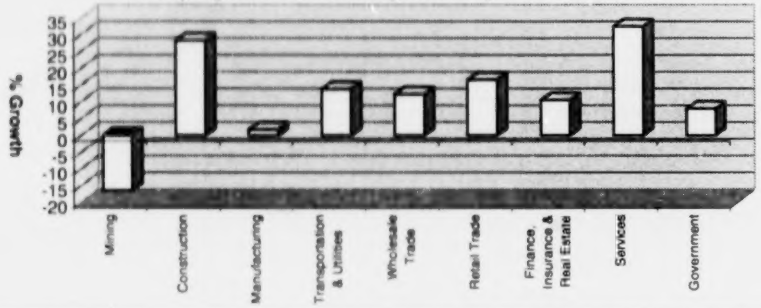
Employment by Industry

	1991	1998	%Change
Mining	689000	575000	-16.5
Construction	4650000	5965000	28.3
Manufacturing	18406000	18716000	1.7
Transportation & Utilities	5755000	6549000	13.8
Wholesale Trade	6081000	6825000	12.23
Retail Trade	19284000	22475000	16.5
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	6646000	7341000	10.5
Services	28336000	37525000	32.4
Government	18402000	19862000	7.9

Source Code: #7

Employment Growth By Industry 1991-1998



Source #1: U.S. Census Bureau . (1998). "Historical National Population Estimates: July 1, 1900 to July 1, 1997", Current Population Reports, Series P-25, Nos. 311, 917, 1095, and Population Paper Listing PPL-91.

Source #2: U.S. Census Bureau . (1998). "Annual Geographical Mobility Rates, By Type of Movement: 1947 - 1997".

Source #3: U.S. Census Bureau . (1998). "Resident Population of the United States: Estimates. By Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin, with Median Age."

Source #4: U.S. Census Bureau . (1998). "Table P-1: Total CPS Population and Per Capita Money Income: 1967 to 1997" March Current Population Survey.

Source #5: Day, J. & Curry, A. (1998). Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1997. Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics. U.S. Census Bureau.

Source #6: Bureau of Labor Statistics . (1998). "Employment Status of the Civilian Noninstitutional Population, 1935 to 1998", Household Data Annual Averages.

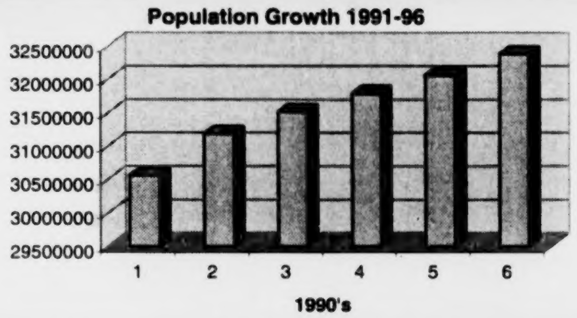
Source #7: Bureau of Labor Statistics . (1999). "National Employment, Hours, and Earnings", Series ID: EEU00000001. Extracted: April 17, 1999.

California

Population

Year	People
1991	30564874
1992	31187556
1993	31516548
1994	31790490
1995	32062677
1996	32383087

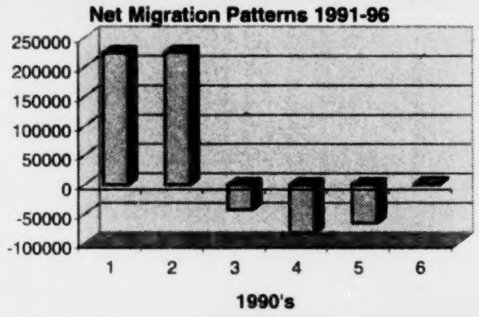
Source Code: #1


Population Growth 1991-96

Migration

Year	Net Change
1991	224152
1992	225262
1993	-42665
1994	-81681
1995	-65095
1996	1203

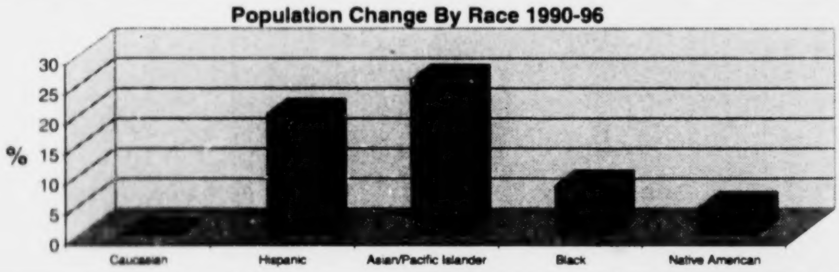
Source Code: #1


Net Migration Patterns 1991-96

Population By Race/Ethnicity

	1990	1996	% Change
Caucasian	17132047	17130818	0
Hispanic	7775189	9330829	20.01
Asian/Pacific Islander	2746190	3452610	25.7
Black	2105282	2275332	8.1
Native American	185121	193499	4.5

Source Code: #1


Population Change By Race 1990-96

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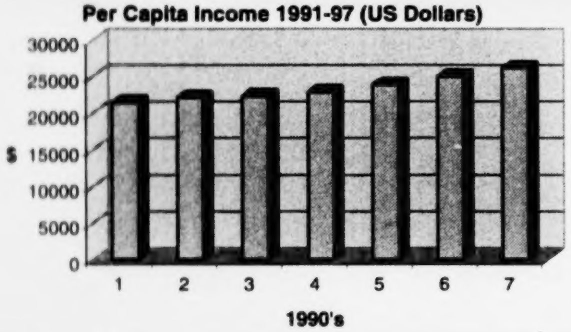
Per Capita Income

Year	Income
1991	21476
1992	22163
1993	22388
1994	22899
1995	23901
1996	25050
1997	26218

Source Code: #2

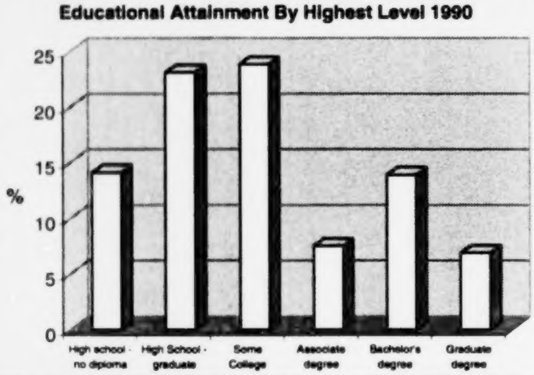

Per Capita Income 1991-97 (US Dollars)

Eductional Attainment

Population 18 and older in 1990

Percentages with	
High school - no diploma	14.1
High School - graduate	23.1
Some College	23.8
Associate degree	7.5
Bachelor's degree	13.9
Graduate degree	6.9

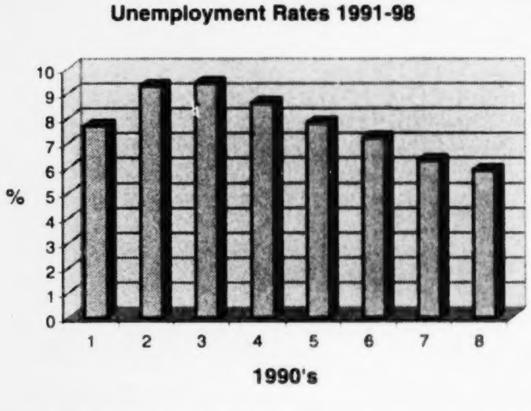
Source Code: #3


Educational Attainment By Highest Level 1990

Unemployment

Year	%
1991	7.7
1992	9.3
1993	9.4
1994	8.6
1995	7.8
1996	7.2
1997	6.3
1998	5.9

Source Code: #4


Unemployment Rates 1991-98

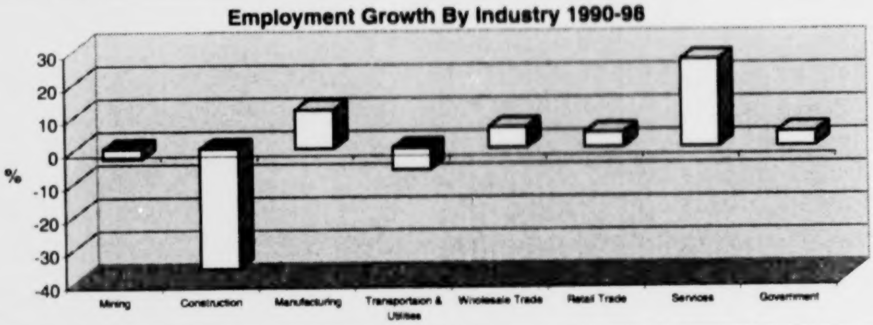
Page 3

Employment By Industry

	1990	1998	%Change
Mining	2668200	2587200	-3.04
Construction	29000	18500	-36.21
Manufacturing	352400	393400	11.63
Transportaion & Utilities	4600	4300	-6.52
Wholesale Trade	237500	252100	6.14
Retail Trade	2992700	3121900	4.32
Services	3343100	4219500	26.22
Government	2074800	2163800	4.29

Source Code: #4

Employment Growth By Industry 1990-98



Source #1: California Department of Finance, Research Unit. (1998). "Race/Ethnic Estimates By County".

Source #2: California Department of Finance, Financial and Economic Research. (1998). "Per Capita Personal Income, California". California Statistical Abstract, 1998, Table D-15.

Source #3: California Employment Development Department. "Labor Market Information: Educational Attainment of Persons 18 Years and Older in California, 1990 Census". 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3A: Accessed April 1999.

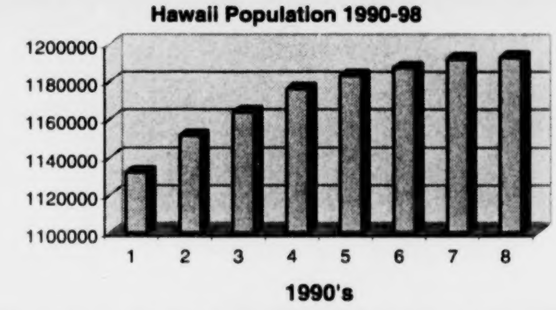
Source #4: California Employment Development Department. "California Annual Average Labor Force and Industry Employment,": Accessed April 1999.

Hawaii

Population

Year	People
1991	1132040
1992	1151344
1993	1163835
1994	1176078
1995	1183066
1996	1187283
1997	1192057
1998	1193001

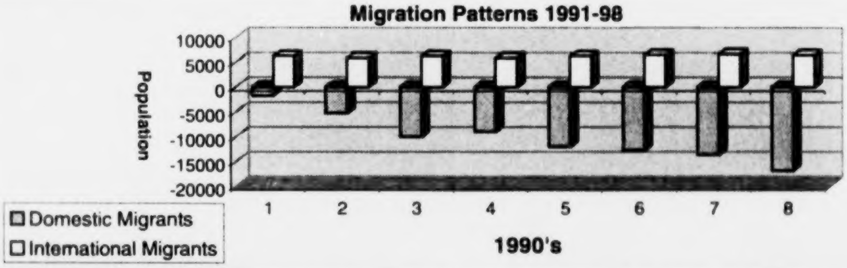
Source Code: #1



Migration

	Domestic Migration	International Migration
1991	-1717	6263
1992	-5265	5823
1993	-10052	6263
1994	-8977	5829
1995	-11993	6232
1996	-12683	6469
1997	-13619	6686
1998	-16907	6432
Total	-79313	49997

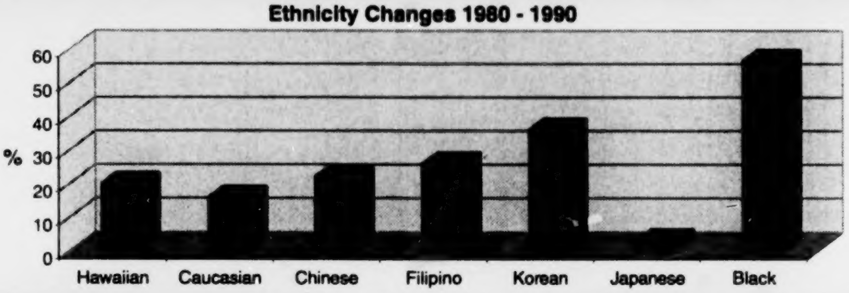
Source Code: #2



Ethnicity

	1980	1990	%Change
Hawaiian Origin	115500	138742	20.1
Caucasian	318770	369616	15.95
Chinese	56285	68804	22.2
Filipino	133940	168682	25.9
Korean	17962	24454	36.1
Japanese	239748	247486	3.2
Black	17364	27195	56.6

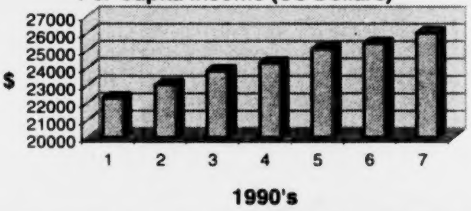
Source Code: #3


Ethnicity Changes 1980 - 1990

Per Capita Income

Year	$
1991	22276
1992	23056
1993	23842
1994	24279
1995	25103
1996	25421
1997	26034

Source Code: #4

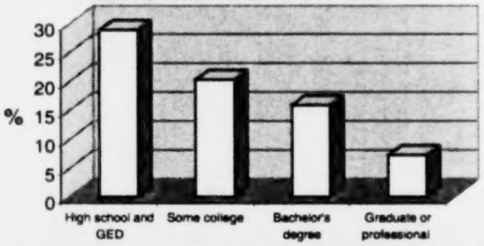

Per Capita Income (US Dollars)

Educational Attainment

Population 25 and over

Percentages with	
High school and GED	28.72
Some college	20.13
Bachelor's degree	15.76
Graduate or professional	7.13

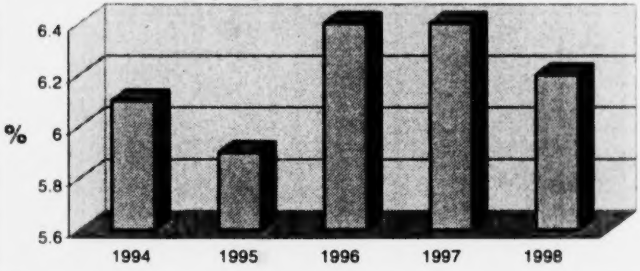
Source Code: #5


Educational Attainment 1990

Unemployment

Year	%
1994	6.1
1995	5.9
1996	6.4
1997	6.4
1998	6.2

Source Code: #6

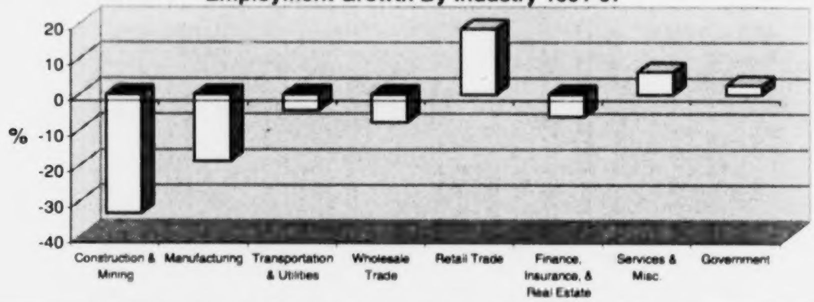

Unemployment Rates 1994-98

Employment by Industry

	1990	1997	% Change
Construction & Mining	33550	22300	-33.5
Manufacturing	20450	16600	-18.8
Transportation & Utilities	43300	41400	-4.4
Wholesale Trade	22750	20950	-7.9
Retail Trade	113700	134550	18.3
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	37400	36100	-6.3
Services & Misc.	159100	169200	6.3
Government	108900	111650	2.5

Source Code: #7

Employment Growth By Industry 1991-97



Source #1: U.S. Census Bureau. (1998). Estimates of the Population of States: Annual Time Series, July 1, 1990 to July 1, 1998, and Demographic Components of Population Change, Annual Time Series, Block 1.

Source #2: U.S. Census Bureau. (1998). Estimates of the Population of States: Annual Time Series, July 1, 1990 to July 1, 1998, and Demographic Components of Population Change, Annual Time Series, Block 4: Net International.

U.S. Census Bureau. (1998). Estimates of the Population of States: Annual Time Series, July 1, 1990 to July 1, 1998, and Demographic Components of Population Change, Annual Time Series, Block 6: Net Migration.

Source #3: Schmitt, R. C. (1968). Demographic Statistics of Hawaii: 1778-1965. Honolulu.

U.S. Census Bureau. 1970, 1980, 1990 Census of Population. "General Population Characteristics."

Source #4: Native Hawaiian Data Book. (1998). Table 8.2 Per Capita Personal Income for the State of Hawaii. Observed Values Versus Predicted Values: 1977-2002. BEA News Release (BEA 98-10).

Source #5: Native Hawaiian Data Book. (1998). Table 4.15 Educational Attainment of Native Hawaiians in Hawaii by Level: 1990. U.S. Census Bureau. 1990 Census of Population.

Source #6: State of Hawaii, Labor Force Annual Averages followed by Monthly Series: Accessed April 1999.

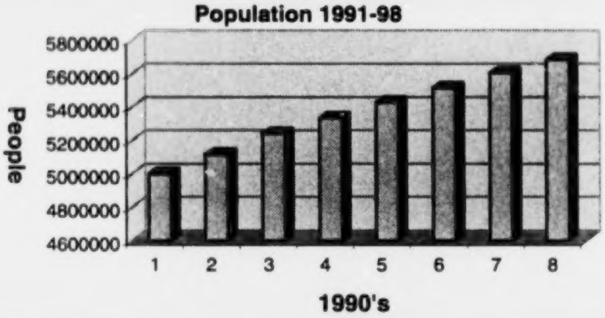
Source #7: State of Hawaii, Current Employment Statistics (CES): Accessed April 1999.

Washington

Population

Year	People
1991	5000371
1992	5116671
1993	5240900
1994	5334400
1995	5429900
1996	5516800
1997	5606800
1998	5685300

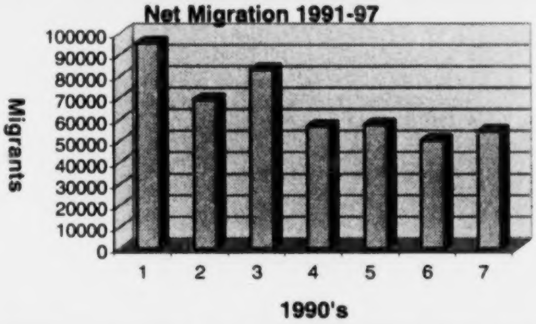
Source Code: #1



Migration

Year	Net Change
1991	95558
1992	69176
1993	83055
1994	56822
1995	57482
1996	50279
1997	54586

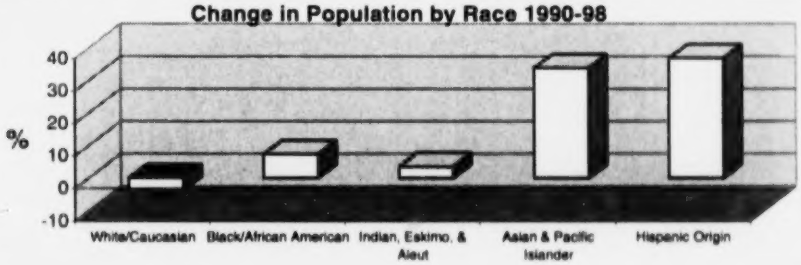
Source Code: #1



Population by Race

	1990	1998	% Change
White/Caucasian	86.82	83.49	-3.8
Black/African American	3.01	3.23	7.3
Indian, Eskimo, & Aleut	1.57	1.63	3.5
Asian & Pacific Islander	4.19	5.61	33.9
Hispanic Origin	4.41	6.04	36.96

Source Code: #2



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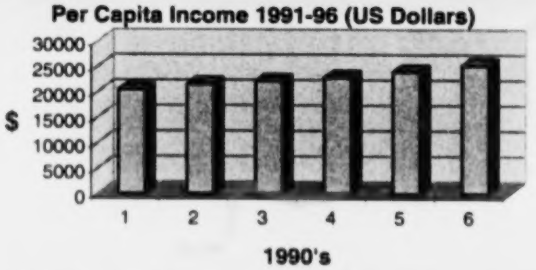
Per Capita Income

Year	Income
1991	20462
1992	21515
1993	22168
1994	22806
1995	23974
1996	25277

Source Code: #1

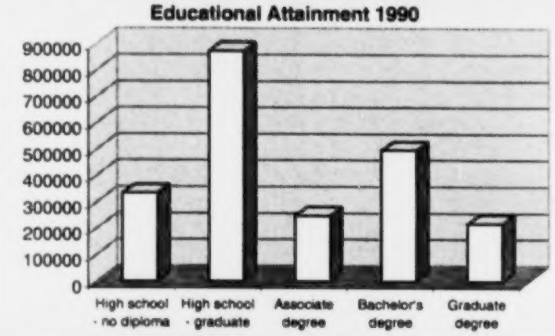


Educational Attainment

Population 25 and over in 1990

High school - no diploma	334472
High school - graduate	873150
Associate degree	248478
Bachelor's degree	496866
Graduate degree	220103

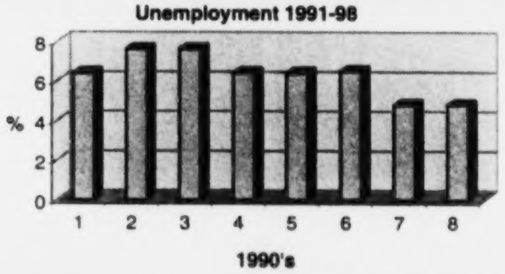
Source Code: #3



Unemployment

Year	%
1991	6.4
1992	7.6
1993	7.6
1994	6.4
1995	6.4
1996	6.5
1997	4.8
1998	4.8

Source Code: #1



Employment by Industry

	1991	1998	%Change
Construction & Mining	121900	145500	19.36
Manufacturing	351900	379500	7.8
Transportation & Utilities	111900	136100	21.6
Trade	527200	625000	18.6
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	116900	135000	15.5
Services	536000	709600	32.4
Government	411600	465600	13.1

Source Code: #4

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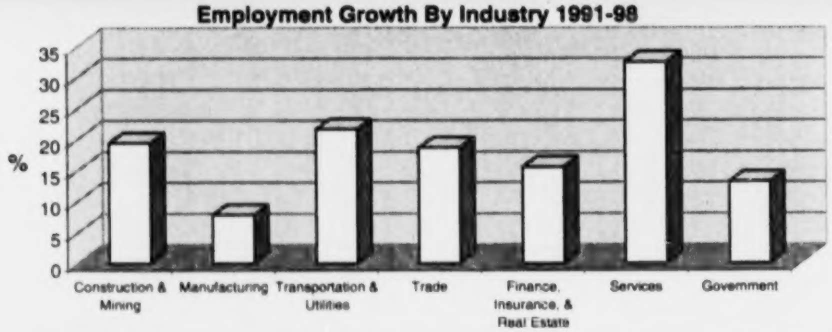
Employment Growth By Industry 1991-98



Source #1:	Washington State. (1999). "Washington, Selected Economic Data", Office of Financial Management.
Source: #2	Washington State. (1998). "Percentage Distribution of 1990 U.S. Census of Population for Washington State by Race (Non-Hispanic) and Hispanic Origin by County, Racial Classifications Based on OMB Directive 15", US Bureau of the Census.
Source: #3	U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 US Census Data, Database: C90STF3C1, Summary Level: State. Accessed: April 1999.
Source: #4	Washington State. (1999). "Washington, Selected Economic Data", Employment Security Department.

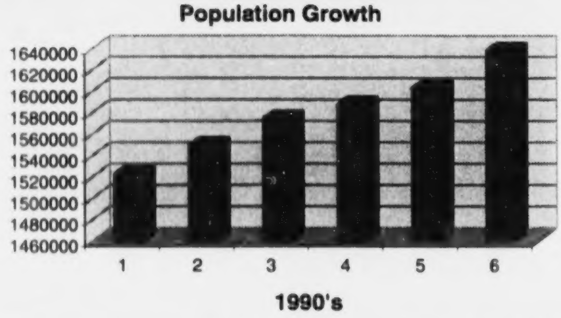
Suburban Valley Region

Population

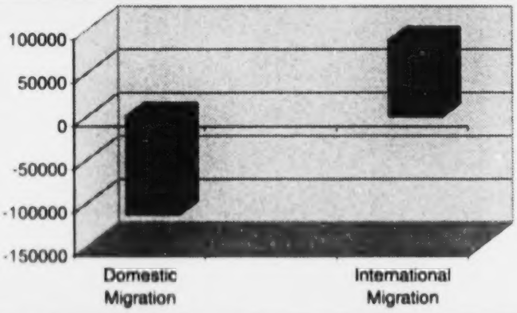
Year	People
1991	1522640
1992	1549900
1993	1574657
1994	1587976
1995	1603311
1996	1638299

Growth Rate 91-96
7.60%

Source Code: #1



Migration Trends 1990 - 1995



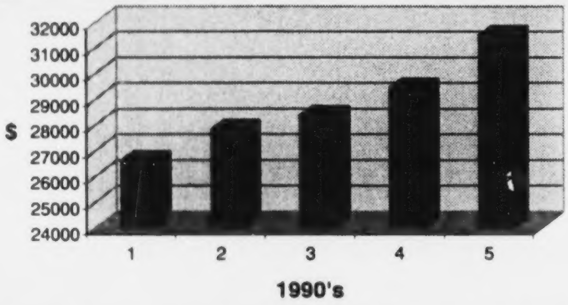
Domestic Migration	-112730
International Migration	87359

Source Code:#2

Per Capita Income

Years	$
1991	26617
1992	27816
1993	28362
1994	29439
1995	31487

Source Code: #4



Ethnic Breakdown

Ethnicity	1991	1996	%
White	866869	852356	-1.67
Black	53651	58447	8.9
Hispanic	326307	377363	15.65
Native American	6503	5598	-13.92
Asian/Pacific Islander	269309	344536	27.93

Source Code: #5

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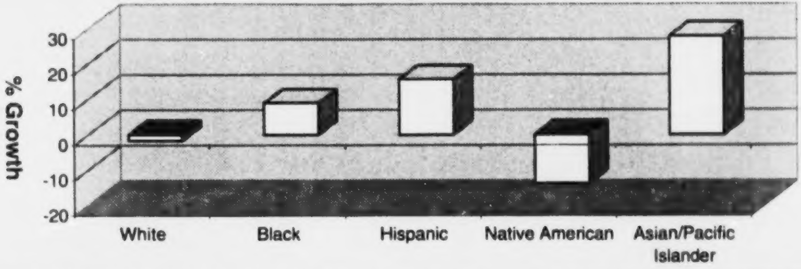
Ethnicity Change 1991-1996

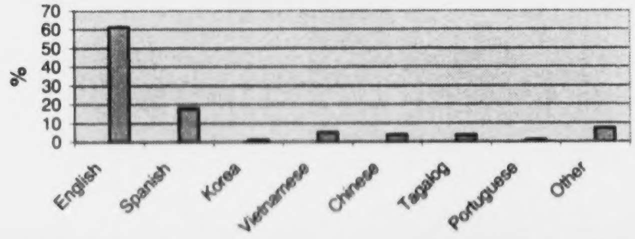


Mother Tongue 1990

Language	%
English	61.5
Spanish	17.8
Korea	0.8
Vietnamese	4.9
Chinese	3.7
Tagalog	3.3
Portuguese	1
Other	7

Source Code: #6

Mother Tongue 1990



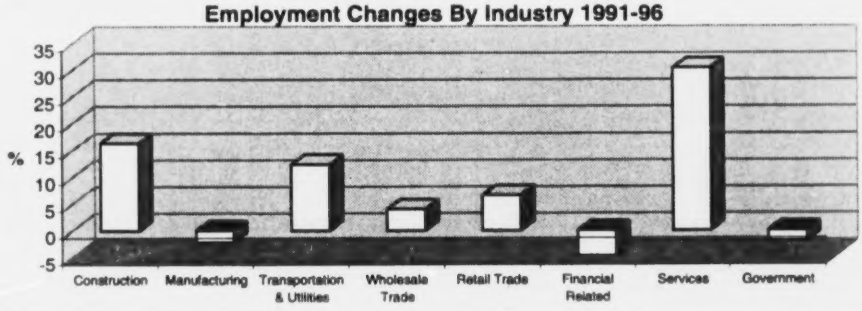
Employment By Industry

Suburban Valley MSA

	1991	1996	Change	Growth %
Construction	28100	32700	4600	16.4
Manufacturing	251500	245900	-5600	-2.2
Transportation & Utilities	22600	25400	2800	12.4
Wholesale Trade	50400	52400	2000	4
Retail Trade	114600	122200	7600	6.6
Financial Related	31500	30000	-1500	-4.8
Services	217700	283900	66200	30.4
Government	89100	87400	-1700	-1.9

Source Code:#7

Employment Changes By Industry 1991-96



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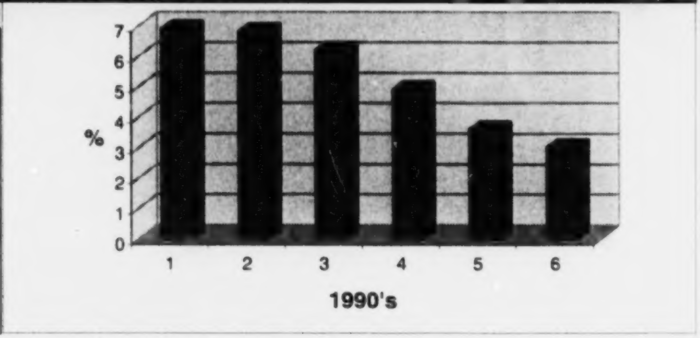
Page 3

Unemployment Rates

Year	%
1991	6.9
1992	6.8
1993	6.2
1994	4.9
1995	3.6
1996	3

Source Code: #3A



Source #1: California Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit. (1998).

Source #2: U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1996)."U.S. Counties". Censtats.

Source #3 A: State of California, Employment Department, Labor Market Division. (1998).

Source #4: Department of Finance, Financial and Economic Research- California. (1997)." Statistical Abstract". Table D-7, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Source #5: California Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit. (1998).

Source #6: Suburban Valley City Census 1990.

Source #7: Suburban Valley MSA. "Suburban Valley MSA Annual Average Labor Force and Industry Employment." March 1998 Benchmark: Accessed June 1999.

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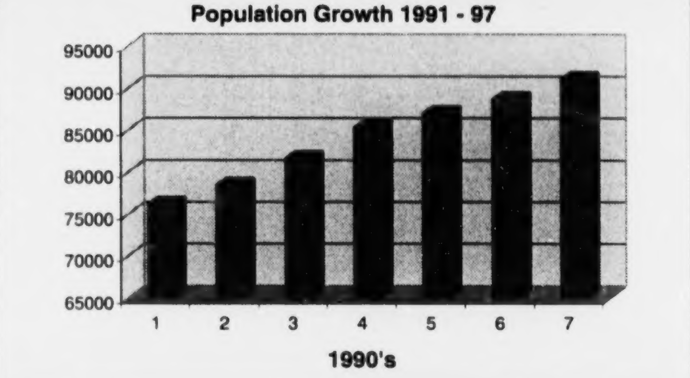
East Shoreline Region

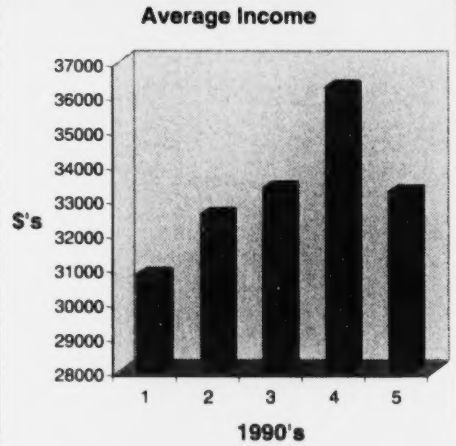
Population

1991	76173
1992	78464
1993	81627
1994	85335
1995	87070
1996	88727
1997	91139

Source Code: #1

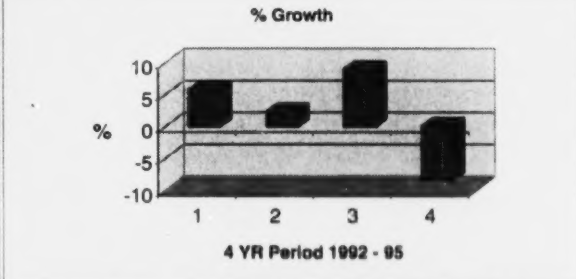


Average Income - Rural District



Year	$	%Change
1991	30811	
1992	32564	5.7
1993	33321	2.3
1994	36272	8.9
1995	33214	-8.4

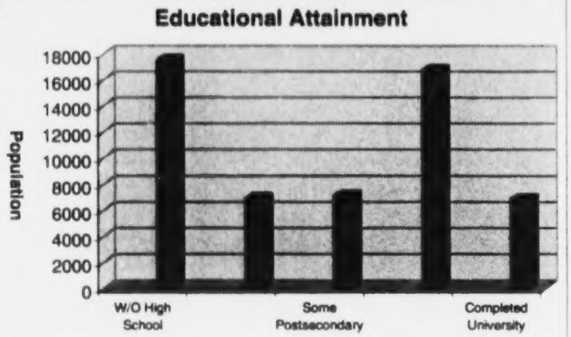
Source Code:# 2



Educational Attainment

Total (Age 15+)	55255
W/O High School	17540
W/ High School	6940
Some Postsecondary	7120
Trade or Non-university	16790
Completed University	6865

Source Code; #3



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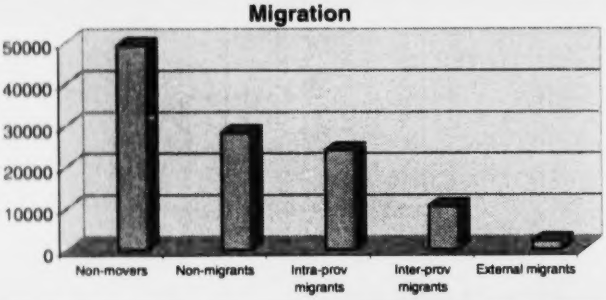
Mobility Status 1991-96

Total	113705
Non-movers	49140
Non-migrants	28105
Intra-prov migrants	23990
Inter-prov migrants	10430
External migrants	2040

Source Code: #6



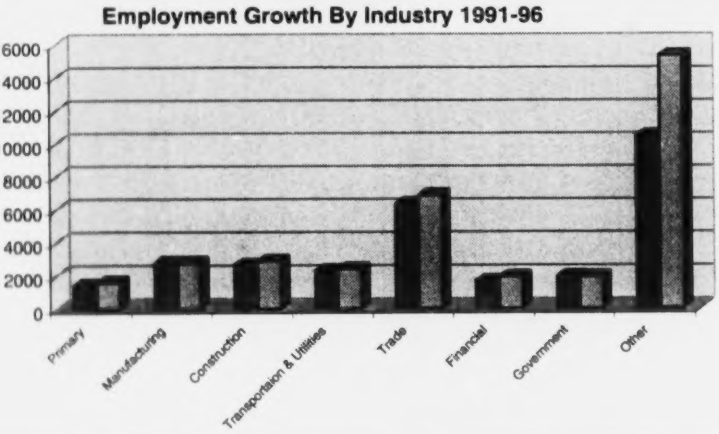
Employment by Industry 1991-96

Industry	**1991**	**1996**
Primary	1406	1595
Manufacturing	2770	2765
Construction	2650	2900
Transportaion & Utilities	2275	2405
Trade	6340	6865
Financial	1670	1900
Government	1940	1910
Other	10450	15310

Unemployment Rates

Year	**Rate %**
1995	10.7
1996	9.2
1997	9.6

Source Code: #5



Source #1: B.C. Stats. (1998). Population Section, BC Stats, Ministry of Finance and Corporate Relations.

Source #2: B.C. Stats. (1998). "Community Facts". BC Stats, based on Revenue Canada Data.

Source #3: Statistics Canada. (1996). "Statistical Profile- Education Statistics for East Shoreline City". Census 1996.

Source #4: Statistics Canada. 1991, 1996 Census.

Source #5; Statistics Canada. (1998). "Labour Force Survey".

Source #6: B.C. Stats. (1998). "Focus on Mobility and Migration in B.C.". Census Fast Facts, Issue 16.

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City Central Region

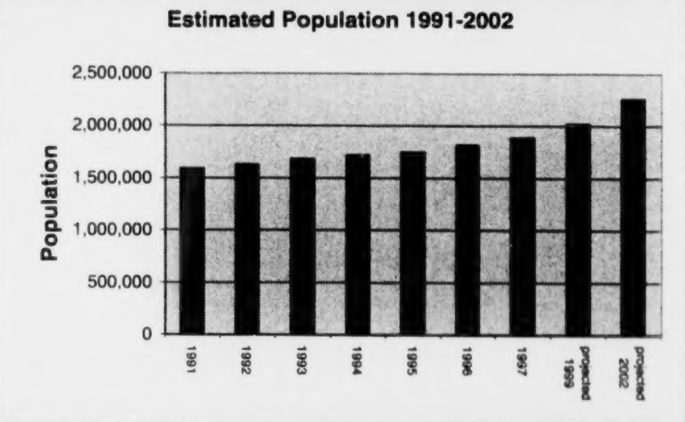
Population

Year	People
1991	1,586,600
1992	1,626,800
1993	1,679,700
1994	1,714,400
1995	1,744,200
1996	1,811,900
1997	1,886,100
1999 *projected*	2,017,800
2002 *projected*	2,255,600

Annual Growth Rate 1991-97

17.47%

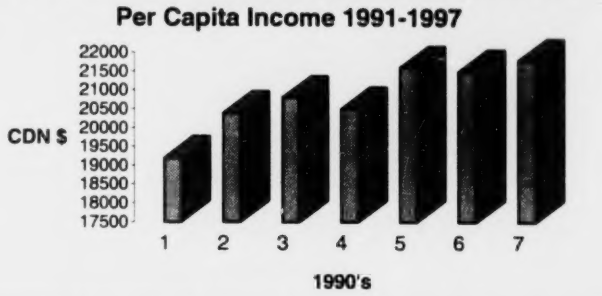
Source Code: #1



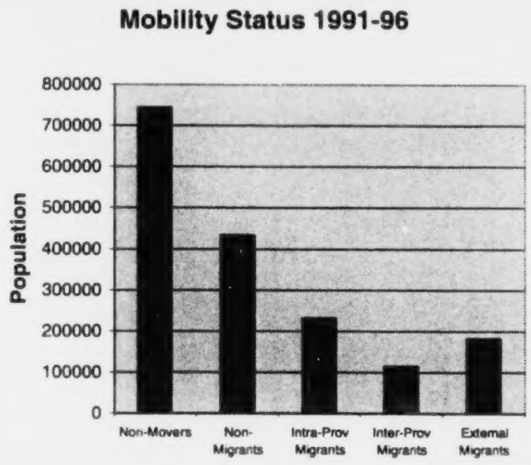
Per Capita Income

Year	CDN$
1991	19200
1992	20400
1993	20800
1994	20500
1995	21600
1996	21500
1997	21800

Source Code: #1



Regional District Mobility Status 1991-96



Total	1701900
Non-Movers	743885
Non-Migrants	432350
Intra-Prov Migrants	231055
Inter-Prov Migrants	113515
External Migrants	181100
External Migrants %	10.6

Source Code: #3

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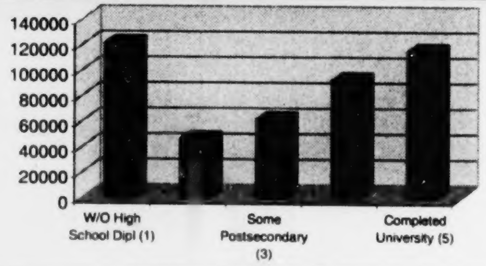
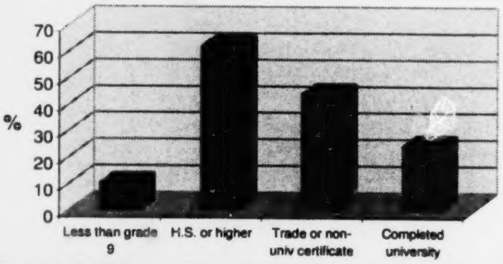
Educational Attainment



Total (Age 15+)	436720
W/O High School Dipl (1)	121310
W/ High School Dipl. (2)	46065
Some Postsecondary (3)	61660
Trade & Non-Univ Cert. (4)	92310
Completed University (5)	115375

Source Code: #4

Completion Rates



Educational Completion
Age 25+

	%
Less than grade 9	10.2
H.S. or higher	61.9
Trade or non-univ certificate	43.8
Completed university	24.4

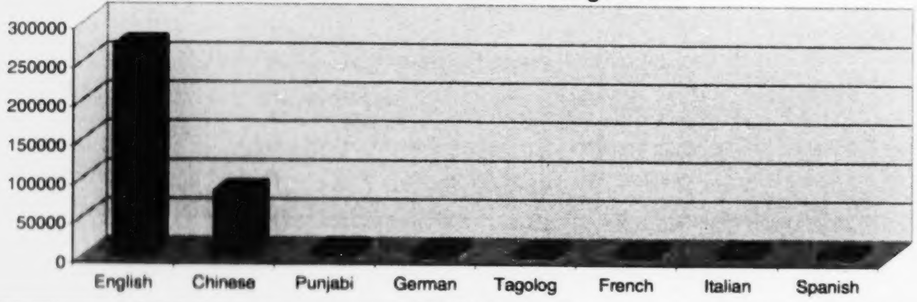
Source Code: #4

Mother Tongue 1991 - City

Language	Population	Language	Population
English	270405	**Polish**	3580
Chinese	83540	**Dutch**	1660
Punjabi	10700	**Portuguese**	3650
German	9160	**Greek**	2930
Tagolog	6460	**Ukrainian**	1925
French	6840	**Arabic**	645
Italian	7790	**Others**	36775
Spanish	5940		

Source Code: #5

City Central Metro - Mother Tongue 1991



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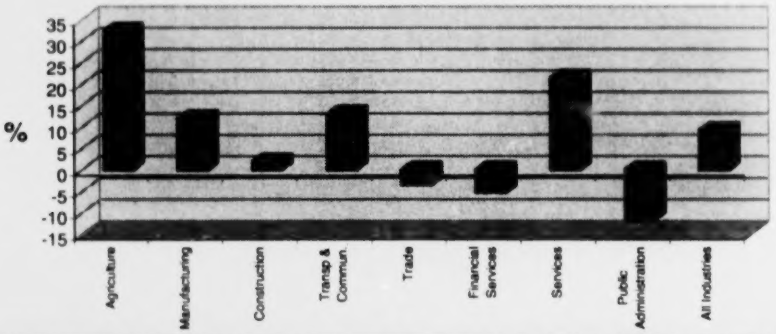
City Central College Metro Area Employment by Industry 1992-97 (000's)

Industry	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	% Growth
Agriculture	6.8	6.5	4.8	7.4	6.9	9	32.4
Manufacturing	91.9	92	97.5	98.3	109.6	103	12.1
Construction	60.1	53.8	78.5	63.9	64.1	61.3	2
Transp & Commun.	75	69.9	63.4	73.6	71.4	84.8	13.1
Trade	176.7	172.5	151	166.2	162.7	170.3	-3.6
Financial Services	71.2	65.5	73.9	69.4	70.4	67.4	-5.3
Services	325	342.2	368.5	379.5	386.1	394.8	21.5
Public Administration	39.4	46.7	45.9	37.3	47.2	34.8	-11.7
All Industries	860.7	866.1	899.7	910.3	932.7	940.9	9.3

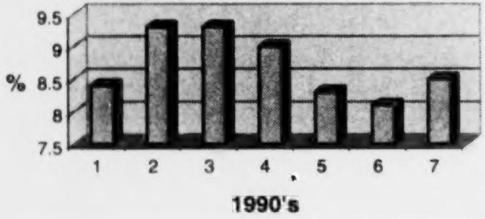
Source Code: # 6

City Central Metro Area - Employment by Industry '92-'97



Unemployment

Unemployment Rates 1991-97



Year	%
1991	8.4
1992	9.3
1993	9.3
1994	9
1995	8.3
1996	8.1
1997	8.5

Source Code: #7

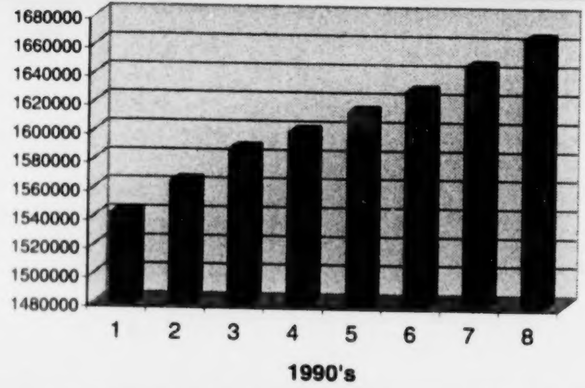
Source #1: Financial Post Data Group. (1998)."Summary of Canadian Markets 1991,92,93,94,95,96,97,98". Statistics Canada.
Source #3: BC Stats. (1998). "Focus on Mobility and Migration in B.C.". 1996 Census Fast Facts, Issue 16.
Source #4: CCC City. (1996)."Statistical Profile". 1996 Canada Census.
Source #5: Statistics Canada. (1991).Census Data.
Source #6: BC Stats. (1998)."Labour Force Survey". Statistics Canada.
Source #7: BC Stats. (1998)."Labour Force Survey". Statistics Canada.

City South County

Population

Year	People
1991	1542286
1992	1564486
1993	1587700
1994	1599500
1995	1613600
1996	1628800
1997	1646200
1998	1665800

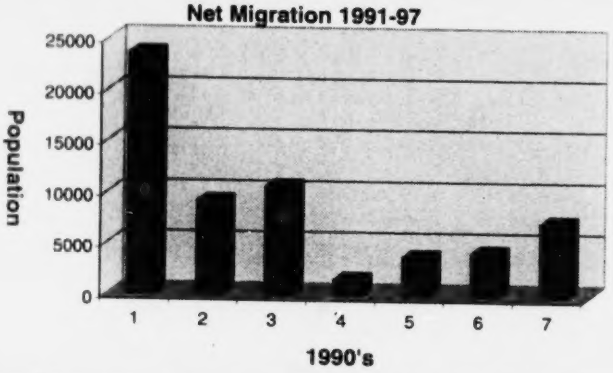
Source Code: #1



Migration

Year	Net
1991	23607
1992	9155
1993	10616
1994	1604
1995	3798
1996	4263
1997	7151

Source Code: #1

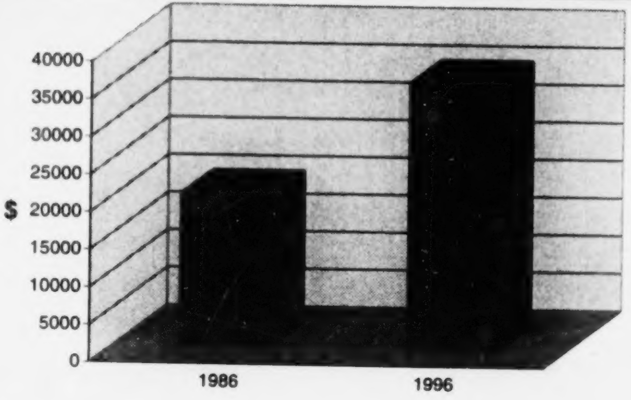


Per Capita Income

Years	$
1986	20349
1996	35395

% Yearly Change 5.7
Ntnl. % Change 4.9

Source Code: #4



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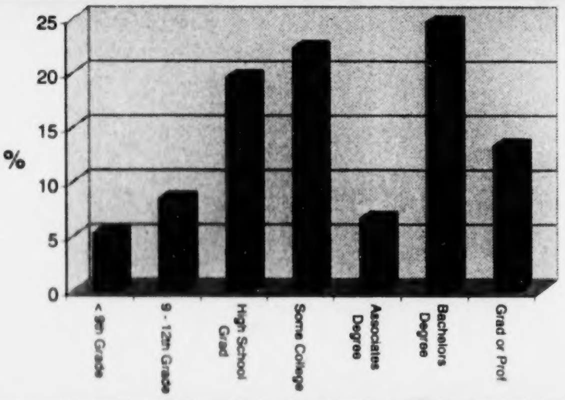
Educational Attainment City South City 1990

	%
< 9th Grade	5.2
9 - 12th Grade	8.4
High School Grad	19.6
Some College	22.3
Associates Degree	6.6
Bachelors Degree	24.6
Grad or Prof	13.3

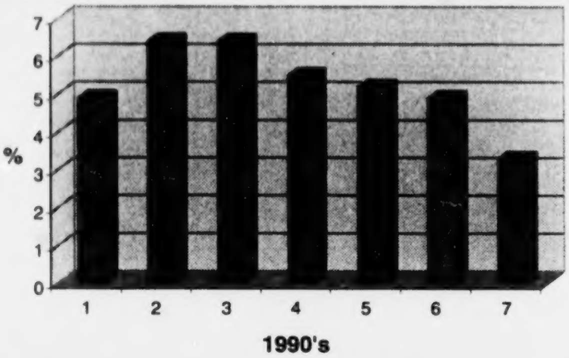
Source Code: #5



Unemployment Rates: City South County

Year	%
1991	4.9
1992	6.4
1993	6.4
1994	5.5
1995	5.2
1996	4.9
1997	3.3

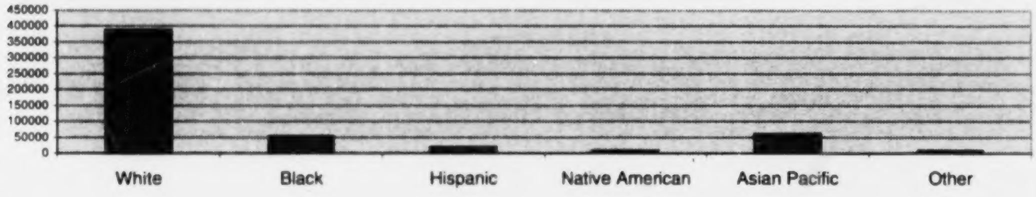
Source Code: #1



Population By Race: City South City 1990

	#People	%
White	388859	75
Black	51948	10
Hispanic	18349	3.6
Native American	7326	1.4
Asian Pacific	60819	12
Other	7308	1.4

Source Code: #5



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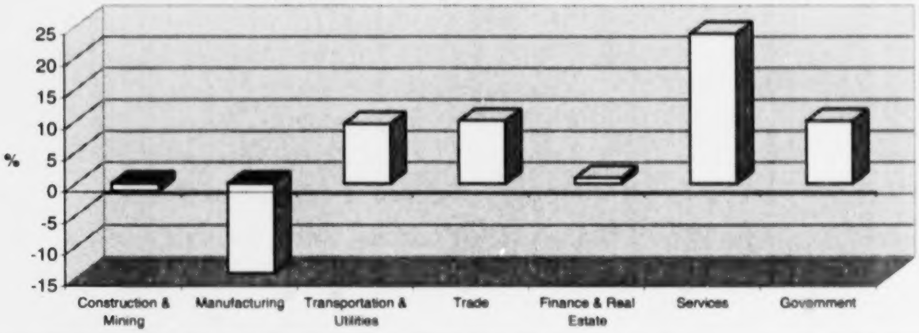
Employment By Industry 1991-1996

	1991	1996	%Change
Construction & Mining	49000	48400	-1.2
Manufacturing	166500	142700	-14.29
Transportation & Utilities	62400	68300	9.45
Trade	224500	246900	9.97
Finance & Real Estate	65200	65800	0.9
Services	245700	304200	23.8
Government	129400	142200	9.89

Source Code: #6

Employment Change By Industry 1991-96



Source #1: Washington State. (1998). Employment Security Department.

Source#4: Bureau of Economic Analysis. (1998)."BEA Regional Facts (BEARFACTS)". City South County 1998.

Source#5: Greater City South Chamber Of Commerce. (1998). US Census Bureau.

Source#6: Employment Security Department. (1999). City South County, Selected Economic Data - Non Agricultural Employment.

Pacific Suburban

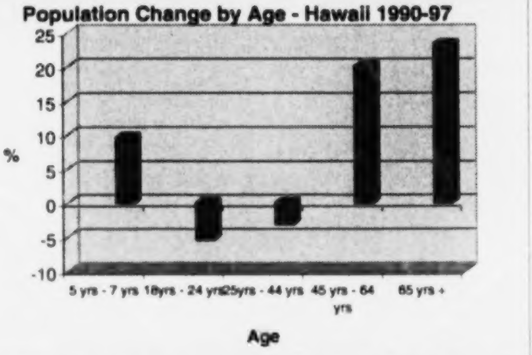
Population

Resident Population - Hawaii

Age	% Change
5 yrs - 7 yrs	9.6
18yrs - 24 yrs	-5.4
25yrs - 44 yrs	-3.1
45 yrs - 64 yrs	20.1
65 yrs +	23.3

%Change in Population 1990-97
7.10%

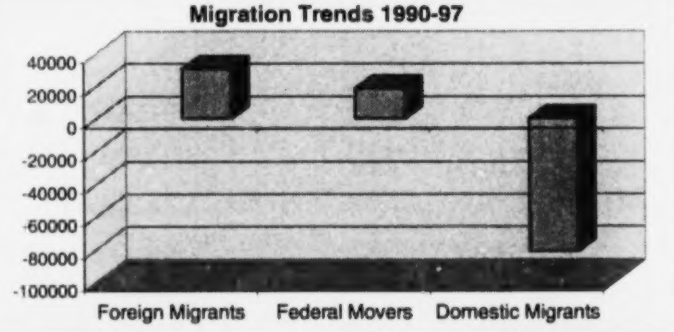
Source Code: #1



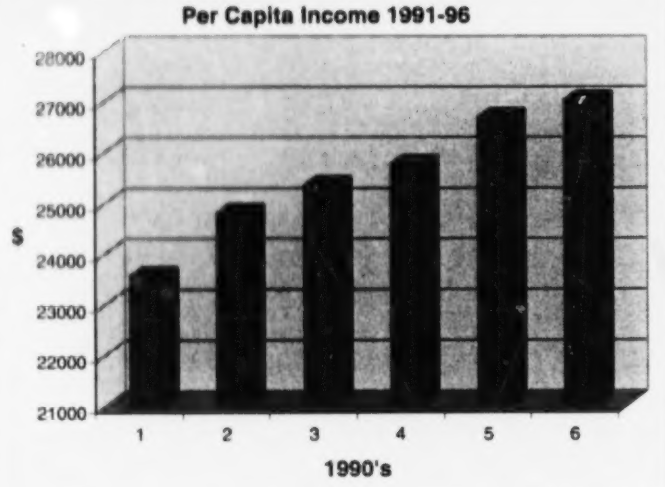
Migration

1990-97	
Population 1990	836231
Population 1997	869857
Net Change	33626
Foreign Migrants	30622
Federal Movers	18626
Domestic Migrants	-81295

Source Code: #2



Income Per Capita 1991-96



Year	$
1991	23564
1992	24811
1993	25358
1994	25768
1995	26693
1996	27040

% Change 1990-97
18.9

Source Code: #3

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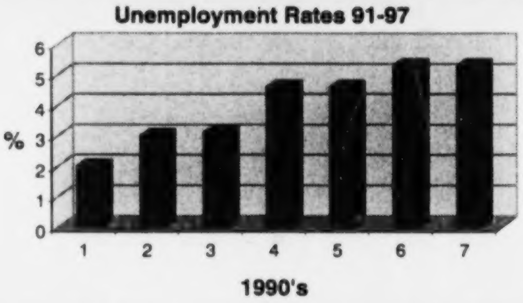
Unemployment Rate

Year	Rate%
1991	2
1992	3
1993	3.1
1994	4.6
1995	4.6
1996	5.3
1997	5.3

Source Code: #4

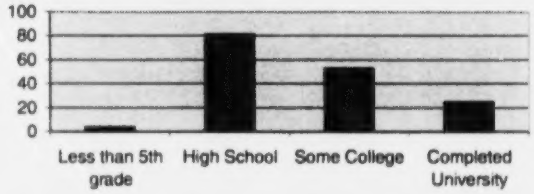


Educational Attainment

1990 Educational Attainment

	%
Less than 5th grade	3.4
High School	81.2
Some College	52.8
Completed University	24.6

Source Code:# 5

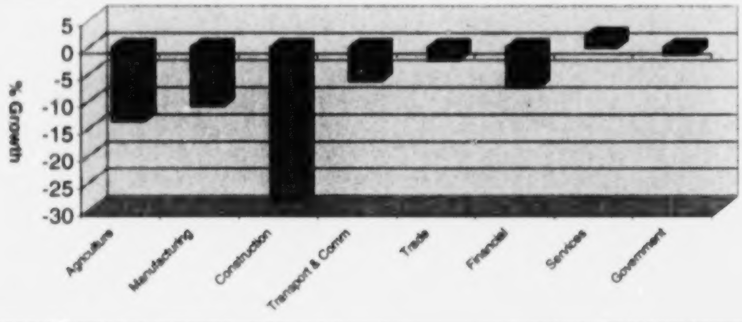


Employment by Industry

City Employment By Industry 1992-97 (000's)

Industry	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	% Growth
Agriculture	2.2	2.1	2.1	1.95	2.1	1.9	-13.6
Manufacturing	14.3	14	13.4	12.95	12.75	12.75	-10.8
Construction	24.2	24.15	22.4	20.25	18.1	17.3	-28.5
Transport & Comm	35.6	34.1	34	33.15	33.15	33.4	-6.2
Trade	102.15	100.5	99.95	101.5	101.1	99.85	-2.3
Financial	31.25	32.15	31.75	30.4	29.85	28.95	-7.4
Services	119.75	119.55	119.85	120.2	120.75	122.35	2.17
Government	90.9	90.4	90.2	89.85	88.95	89.75	-1.3

Source Code: #6



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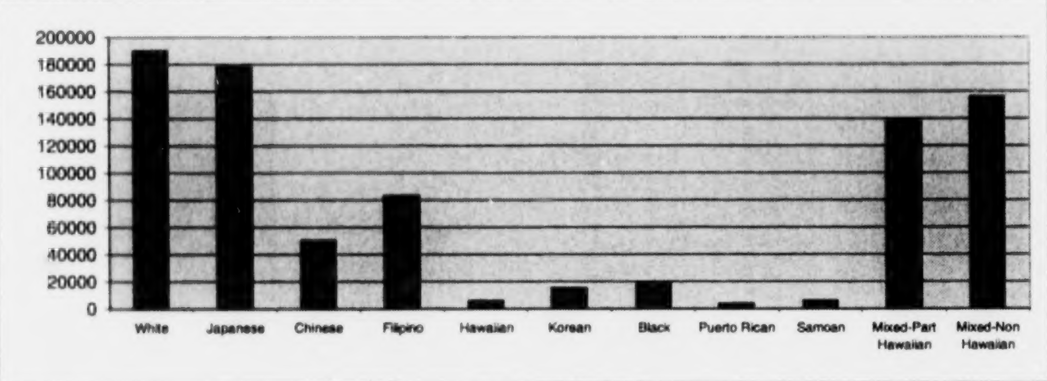
Race and Ethnic Breakdown 1992

Total	**844729**	**% of Population**
White	189859	22.5
Japanese	178123	21.1
Chinese	50229	5.9
Filipino	82786	9.8
Hawaiian	5420	0.6
Korean	14834	1.8
Black	19415	2.3
Puerto Rican	3347	0.4
Samoan	5389	0.6
Mixed-Part Hawaiian	139363	16.5
Mixed-Non Hawaiian	155905	18.5

Source Code: #7



Source #1: U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1997). CB 97- 64.

Source #2: U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1997). "Estimates of the Population of Counties and Demographic Components of Population Change: Annual Time Series, July 1, 1990 to July 1, 1997". (PE-62 : CO97-6).

Source #3: Bureau of Economic Analysis. (1998). "BEA Regional Facts (BEARFACTS)".

Source #4: State of Hawaii. (1998). Department of Labor.

Source #5: US Bureau of the Census. (1993). "1990 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics, Hawaii". 1990 CP-2-13, Table 36.

Source #6: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (1998).
State if Hawaii Department of Labor. (1998).

Source #7: Hawaii State Department of Health. (1997). "Hawaii Health Surveillance Program".

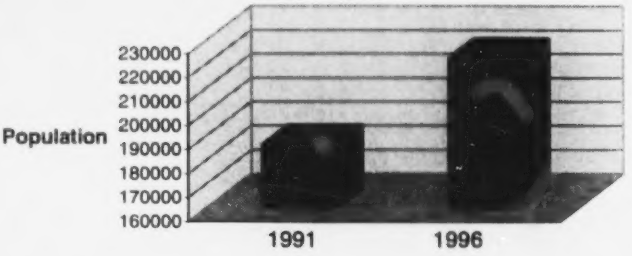
Rural Valley Region

Population

Year	People
1991	186163
1996	222397

1991-96 Growth Rate
19.5

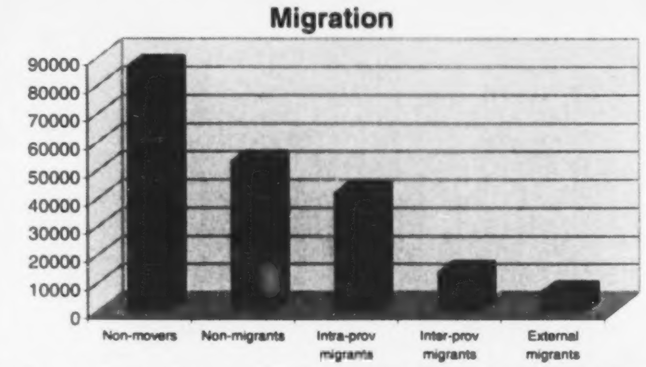
Source Code: #1



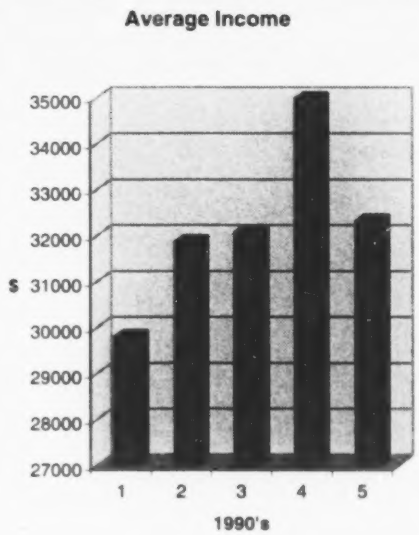
Mobility Status 1991-96

Total	201805
Non-movers	86720
Non-migrants	52955
Intra-prov migrants	41805
Inter-prov migrants	13675
External migrants	6650
External migrants %	3.3

Source Code: #2



Average Income 1991-95



Year	CDN $	% Change
1991	29801	
1992	31860	6.9
1993	32077	0.7
1994	34979	9
1995	32318	-7.6

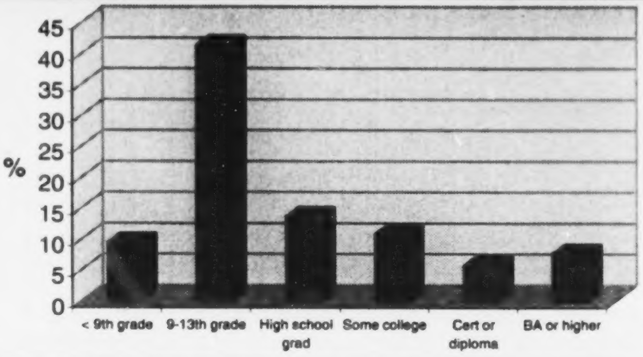
Source Code: #3

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Educational Attainment by Highest Level 1996

	%
< 9th grade	9.37
9-13th grade	41.38
High school grad	13.64
Some college	10.78
Cert or diploma	5.69
BA or higher	7.6

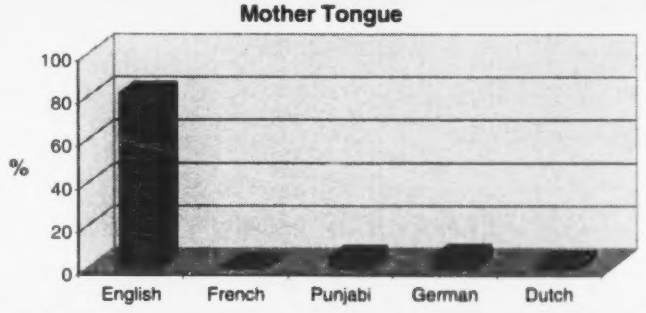
Source Code: #4



Population By Mother Tongue - 1996

Language	%
Total	100
English	81.2
French	1.4
Punjabi	4.8
German	5.5
Dutch	2.2
Other	4.9

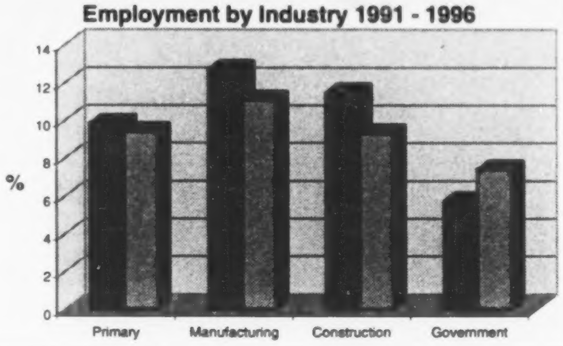
Source Code: #5



Employment By Industry Highlights - 1991-96

	1991	1996
Primary	9.84	9.4
Manufacturing	12.7	11.1
Construction	11.47	9.3
Government	5.74	7.4

Source Code: #6



Source #1: B.C. Stats. (1997). Population Section.

Source #2: B.C. Stats. (1998). "Focus on Mobility and Migration in B.C.". 1996 Census.

Source #3: Revenue Canada. (1998). cited in BC Stats: Community Facts- September 1998.

Source #4: 1996 Canada Census.

Source #5: 1996 Canada Census.

Source #6: 1991 & 1996 Canada Census.

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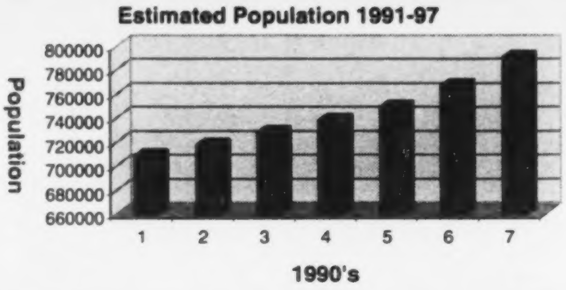
North Mountain

Population

Year	People
1989	671138
1990	692885
1991	708593
1992	717133
1993	727719
1994	738184
1995	749173
1996	767059
1997	790498

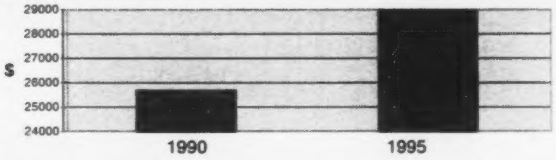
Source Code: #1


Estimated Population 1991-97

Average Income

Year	$
1990	25661
1995	28963

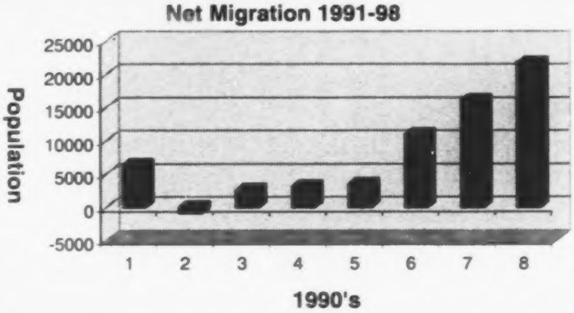
Source Code: #2



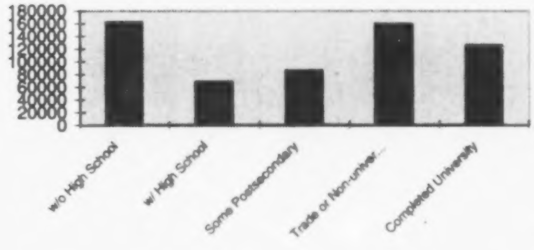
Net Migration

Year	Net
1991	6315
1992	-853
1993	2564
1994	3078
1995	3477
1996	10958
1997	16100
1998	21735

Source Code: #1


Net Migration 1991-98

Educational Attainment


Educational Attainment 1996

Highest Attainment 15+	
Total	600215
w/o High School	162125
w/ High School	68265
Some Postsecondary	85495
Trade or Non-university	159275
Completed University	125060

Source Code: #4

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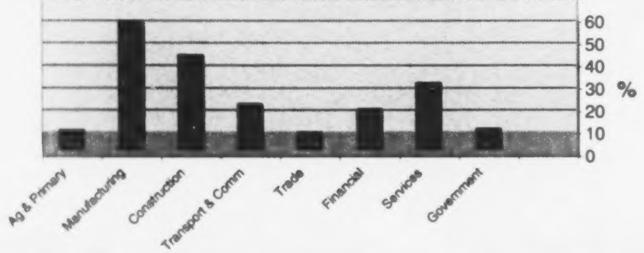
City Employment by Industry 1992-97 (000's)

Industry	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	% Growth
Ag & Primary	26.9	26.3	25.7	28.1	29.8	28	4.1
Manufacturing	27.9	29.6	27.7	34.2	39.5	42.6	52.7
Construction	24.2	24	26.6	28.4	26.5	33.3	37.6
Transport & Comm	28.1	25.5	33	31.1	37.2	32.6	16
Trade	68.5	66.3	68.9	64.9	68.7	70.7	3.2
Financial	23.3	24.5	24	22.7	23.3	26.5	13.7
Services	144.5	150.8	148.6	161.7	164.8	181	25.3
Government	16.8	15.2	14.7	14.5	15.3	17.6	4.8

Source Code: #5

Employment Growth By Industry 1992-97

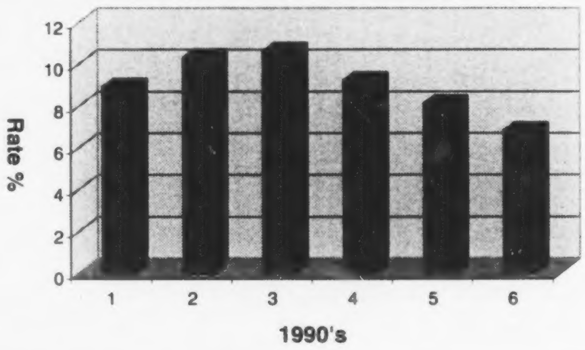


Unemployment Rates

Year	Rate
1989	7.6
1990	7.2
1991	8.9
1992	10.3
1993	10.6
1994	9.2
1995	8.1
1996	6.8

Source Code #6

Unemployment Rates 1991-96



Source #1: North Mountain City Clerk's Department. (1997). North Mountain City Civic Census.

Source #2: Statistics Canada. (1996). "Census Nation Tables".

Source #4: Statistics Canada. (1996). "Statistical Profile- Education Statistics for North Mountain City". 1996 Census.

Source #5: Statistics Canada. (1998). "Labour Force Survey". North Mountain Economic Development Authority.

Source #6: Statistics Canada. (1998). Cat. No. 71-001, relevant years. North Mountain Economic Development Authority.

Appendix B: Government Policy

Jurisdiction: Province of Alberta

Summary

Government policy documents are consumed with less public sector spending, greater efficiencies and emphasis upon workforce training. Policy endeavors to situate province in a globally competitive environment. There is government intervention through funding behaviors--envelopes--and reduction in public sector funding in 1994, 1995 and 1996--down 21%. Government policy also uses new applied degrees to satisfy workplace requirements. There is heavy emphasis upon electronic technology: learning is viewed as cost effective and providing access couched in language of "new learner" and new learning needs. Overall, there is a business model with little focus upon content of knowledge. There is pronounced government involvement with shifts, beginning in 1994 including a considerable decrease in provincial government fiscal support for postsecondary education and increasing importance upon fee-payers (students) to be responsible for education and training. There is marked increased emphasis upon productivity and efficiency. Finally, there are references to government support for international education.

Prevailing themes by category

- Workforce training: for the needs and requirements of employers; to assist the provincial economy; to make Alberta competitive globally
- Less public sector funding available: actions to reduce debt and end deficit financing
- Productivity and efficiency: reform or restructure adult learning system to improve instruction; do more with the same or less finances
- Electronic Technology: to meet needs of business and industry; to improve productivity

Policy direction (promotion, support, report, legislation)

In Alberta, government has taken an active role in directing the province's higher education system, particularly colleges and institutes. Government promotes education and training that supports government policy, business needs, and efficiency. Government wants institutions to produce and provide education and training that is less expensive, serves more Albertans, and is responsive to business and industry. Education and training are viewed as economic supports. Government also ties funding to institutions' willingness to conform. In the mid-1990s, government cutbacks on government grants so that provincial deficits and debt would end. Institutions were asked to be less reliant upon government. Finally, government moved to legislate four-year applied degrees, largely to meet the higher skills needs of business and industry.

Important documents:

- Province of Alberta. (1994). New Directions for Adult Learning in Alberta: Adult Learning Access through Innovation. Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development.

- Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development. (1995). Vision for Change: A concept paper for the development of a virtual learning system. Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development.
- Alberta Advance Educational and Career Development. (1994). Business Plan. Advance Education and Career Development.
- Alberta Advance Educational and Career Development. (1996). Business Plan. Advance Education and Career Development.

Government documents:

Name: Alberta Advanced Education (AAE) Office of the Minister, 1980-90 Annual Report, 1991.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

This document is a summary of the 10-year period's budget. It appears that funds have in fact increased for those in higher education but difficult to make a comparison as a decrease over a ten yr. period would be quite significant. There was an increase of $82 million for post secondary ed., as well as 39 new programs. There is talk of international study opportunities in Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. Partnerships with business and industry were made as well as non-business oriented groups. A policy advisor committee was established with members from private, student and institutional sectors. Purpose: learn public views of Alberta's postsecondary program.

Codes: LPS, P/E, R, PR, C, SI, I, PA, O

Name: AAE: Annual Report 1990-91, June 1992.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

Enrollments declined 1%. Document mentions that 28 programs were created and 12 were expanded, but 21 were suspended or terminated. The Advanced Education Statutes Amendment Act, 1990 was passed requiring Ministerial approval of proposals to reduce, transfer or delete programs (SI). Adult learning policy draft was released for public comment. Programs in ESL, computer literacy, and distance ed. were marketed overseas (C, MKT, I). More funds were allocated for student and faculty exchanges with institutions in China, Korea, and Russia. A province-wide Common Information System for public colleges and tech institutes was implemented (ET).

Codes: LPS, R, SI, ET, I, P/E

Name: AAE Office of the Minister, Annual Report 1991-92, June, 1992.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

This document. is similar to all of the annual reports. Discusses budget issues; no mention of decreased public sector funding. The above mentioned international exchanges received more funds; the skilled trades information system was completed and put into use in 8/92. Nominal amounts are detailed for scholarships and other forms of financial aid are available. Continuing increase for student loans.

Codes: I, ET, LPS, SI, C, R, WT

Name: AAE Office of the Minister, 1992-93 Annual Report, March 31, 1993.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

Mainly WT based. Discussed budget and grant allocation. Department activities include internationalization of faculty and students, Continuing Education, Student Services and financial matters. Students Finance Board deals with federal and provincial assistance, scholarships. Council of Ministers of Education involvement--LPS and SI language.

Codes: I, PA WT, ET. SI, LPS

Name: AAE and Career Development 1993-94 Annual Report, March, 1995.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

Notes the information development marketing branch's pilot and evaluation of ED INFO, a database of post secondary Education program information, and further developed OCCINFO, a database of occupational profiles and labor market info. (ET). Partnerships with schools, employers, and community organizations are mentioned (PA). Budget information management discussed. Support for marketing of international programs and funding of student and faculty international exchange with above-mentioned countries. Approx. $20 million in federal funds set aside for training programs. Grants provided for adult development programs and ESL (WT).

Codes: WT, ET, PA, LPS, I

Name: AAE and Career Development 1994-95 Annual Report, September, 1995.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

This annual report primarily deals with the status of a Business plan as of March 31, 1995. Its main focus is the implementation of the adult learning policy framework completed in 10/94. Most goals revolve around workforce training, re: training adults and easing a transition into the marketplace. The policy is geared towards moving people into the work force. There is mention of reduced funds for salaries and grant allocations. Accountability for resources, i.e. a more business like approach, is mentioned. Pre-employment training for unemployed and disadvantaged received $16 million for 5 new programs to put people to work. Downsizing govt. Spending upon PSE. Orient system to productivity. Emphasis on economic growth, employment prep. and training (P/E. SI). Responsive to communities (business and industry). Background for White Paper.

Codes: P/E, SI, LPS--burden on consumer; SI--accountability

Name: Colleges Act. Revised of Alberta 1980. Chapter C-18 with amendments in force as of June 17, 1987. Consolidated February 2, 1988.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government body

Legislation discusses the Lieutenant Governor in Council's role in establishing rules. SI-oriented. Governing body can establish an interim governing authority for public colleges. Basically, legislation allows for this interim body to designate categories of employees, election procedures of academic staff association, and perform duties of president. Other areas: private colleges may become public by order of the minister, and a provincially owned institution may become a public. A Board of Governors for each public college. Discussed the powers and duties of the College Board. The auditor general is the auditor of the financials of the College Board. More details regarding the operations of the College Board are outlined ranging from academic council to administration. Document provides the basic organizational structure of public Alberta colleges as well as governance issues.

Codes: SI (modifications to Act within and Lt. Gov., increased power to Minister. Re: programs deletion/transfer, tuition and fees)

Name: Measuring Up. Second Annual Report on the Performance of the Government of Alberta. 1995-96 Results, June 1996.
Type: Report
Source: Government

Report assesses progress in 23 core measures grouped into three areas: people, prosperity and preservation. People comprises education, which included statistics and government strategies to improve literacy and education attainment, health, and finance of family income data. Prosperity deals with AECD and improving adult Education as well as complete new paths for those not interested in post secondary school. Emphasis is upon performance and accountability.

Codes: WT, SI, P/E, PR, LPS,

Name: Encouraging Excellence and Rewarding Success in Alberta's Public Adult Learning System, December 1996.
Type: Policy proposal
Source: Government department

Document. discusses current status of funding of the following envelopes: Accessibility, Infrastructure Renewal; Learning Enhancement, Research Excellence, and Performance. Implementation of Performance Envelope is the main body of the document. For each goal, Key Performance Indicators measure progress and each institution is given a performance rating for each indicator.

Codes: MKT, P/E, SI

Name: 1996-99 Business Plan. AECD, March 1996.
Type: Policy background/proposal
Source: Government department

Document reviews goals of AECD and adult learning, specifically progress and achievement. Key performance indicators as a means of assessing performance is proposed (see above). Replacement of various grants mentioned. Reviews departmental performance indicators: accessibility, responsiveness, and affordability. Challenges discussed: reductions to some unmentioned programs, adaptability of adult ed to new learner characteristics, and to market of increasing technological innovation and other changes in labor market. Strategic and financial plan is outlined with objectives: increase the range of learning opportunities and delivery mechanisms; improve knowledge of Albertans; improve effectiveness of adult learning providers to meet goals; align adult learning system policies to anticipate and respond to changing environment; increase responsibility of learners and providers; maximize economic benefits of immigration; ensure transferability of credentials and mobility of Albertans; ensuring that Albertans; have access to information and career counseling to help them make better decisions; ensure that financial need is not a barrier to learning opportunities. Also, align departmental business and structure to support government direction and department priorities; and streamline administration. Align PSE to marketplace and reduce costs.

Codes: P/E, WT, SI, ET, LPS

Name: Vision for Change: A concept paper for the development of a virtual learning system. AECD, September 25, 1995.
Type: Policy draft
Source: Government department

Document. discusses the issue of a province-wide Virtual Learning System to coordinate efforts of meeting demand for tech based program while handling budget cuts, changing demographics, increasing decentralization. Document. notes the provincial climate, the features of a virtual learning system, the system itself--what it is exactly; the goal of adult learning, and how virtual learning can play a part. The logistics of this system (infrastructure, types of learning communities, regional access, local level access and home access) are also covered. Finally, document discusses the roles of the ACED. Policy directed to increasing electronic technology--use as instructional alternative. Rationale of leaner centered, but actually cost effective assumptions.

Codes: ET, P/E, LPS

Name: A Proposal for Performance-Based Funding. Promoting Excellence in Alberta's Public Adult Learning System, November 1995.
Type: Policy draft
Source: Government department

Explains that post secondary funding will be provided though mechanisms that reward an institution's performance in providing accessibility, quality and relevance to the learners at the lowest possible cost. Details what the funding mechanism will include briefs such as general operations grants; summarizes the reactions of educational institutions to the proposed mechanism (most reacted favorably). Assessment via a "report card" will measure institution's progress in meeting the above mentioned goals. The envelope to hold virtual adult learning is the Learning Enhancement Envelope. Govt. driven change.

Codes: SI, P/E

Name: Current Context and Selected Trends: A Profile of Apprenticeship and Industry Training in Alberta. October, 1996.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government affiliate

Current context of apprenticeships is provided: 12% increase in registrations between 1989-95. Mentions the Apprenticeship and Industry Training Act--established the Alberta Apprenticeship and Industry Training Board. Trades are designated by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. Document details age and gender within types of apprenticeship disciplines. The formal instruction of apprentices was discussed as well as an explanation of the "Red Seal" program in which 43 trades are approved through examination to provide skilled workers with the ability to obtain experience in different provinces and territories.

Codes: PA, WT

Name: A Proposed Performance-Based Funding Mechanism for Alberta's Public Post secondary Education System. AECD, June 1995.
Type: Policy draft
Source: Government department

Paper addresses funding, and outlines the general terms of a proposed funding mechanism. The two main parts are the general operations grant to post secondary institutions for program delivery and capital expenditure and performance-driven "envelopes" that reward performance and provide incentives to meet specific goals. Briefly explains the Enrollment Corridor Policy, in which each institution is assigned a "corridor" (enrollment parameters) on which its operating grant is based. Discusses the tuition ceiling rise to 30% approved in 1994 and highlights the changes in the funding mechanism after 1995.

Codes: SI, P/E

Name: A Proposal for Performance-Based Funding Promoting Excellence in Alberta's Public Adult Learning System. AECD, November, 1995.
Type: Policy draft
Source: Government department

Document discusses the results of the 1995 meetings of AECD officials with those of Alberta's public post secondary institutions for the purpose of obtaining feedback on the proposed funding mechanism changes. Results include strong endorsement of enhanced accountability and collaboration throughout the system to discourage competition among institutions. The Envelopes were also touched upon as well. Performance Envelope: suggestion that performance is evaluated relative to institutions in all provinces rather in Alberta alone. Accessibility envelope: most institutions do not consider accessibility an immediate priority; greater emphasis on accessing existing programs. Learning and Tech. Envelope: more collaboration on large scale. Funding should be flexible to accommodate multi-institutional systems of learning via tech. Government driven change.

Codes: SI, P/E

Name: Framework for Technology Integration in Education. A Report of the MLA Implementation Team on Business Involvement and Technology Integration. Alberta Education Cataloguing In Publication Data, March, 1996.
Type: Report
Source: Government department

Document. outlines the recommendations for the use of technology in Alberta's education systems. Ideas range from teaching difficult concepts to advocating for minimum provincial standards for instructional, curricular, and administrative use of technology. P/E, WT, and ET oriented. Touches upon the need for classroom teachers' level of competence in computers. Partnerships with other provinces and the private sector also recommended to develop and fund technology bases and learning resources.

Codes: P/E, WT, ET

Name: A Vision for the Future: Alberta Apprenticeship and Industry Training. A Discussion Paper. Alberta Apprenticeship and Industry Training Board and AECD, October, 1996.
Type: Policy paper
Source: Government affiliate and department

Paper incorporates input from focus groups and other sources to present ideas and options re: apprenticeship and industry training in the future. Outlines the reasons for changing apprenticeship and industry training: rapid tech change and labor market adjustment, strong provincial economic growth, and demand for flexible and cross-skilled workers instead of specialists. Goal of increased responsiveness noted with problems in detail. Recommendations also provided, such as a trade-cluster approach and cross-recognition of apprenticeship certification and academic degrees and diplomas among post secondary institutions to encourage trades people to obtain more education.

Codes: LPS, MRK, P/E, WT, ET

Name: New Directions for Adult Learning in Alberta. Adult Learning Access through Innovation. Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development, October, 1994.
Type: Policy draft
Source: Government department

Discusses the changes affecting Alberta's Adult Learning System: adult learners on the rise, more women and minorities; economic restructuring in labor force; increased need for self-sufficiency and less welfare; increasing alternative methods of education delivery; decrease in public funding; strategies to improve adult education. Ideas include developing a plan to deal with increases in enrollment, encouraging private sector investment in training. Increase responsibility of public post secondary student fees and tuition. Other views include: more partnerships with private sector in meeting needs of workforce and obtain more funds, higher tuition, distance ed. and decreased public funding. Part of large govt. initiative.

Codes: WT, LPS, P/E, PA, LA, PR, ET, SI

Name: Goodman, R. (1996). Alberta Careers Beyond 2000. Edmonton, AB: Learning Resources Distribution Centre.
Type: Policy draft-
Source: Private body

Discusses employment forecast, worldwide, and in Canada (politics, economic, social), and Alberta specifically in economic and social, technology, environment, the future workplace; includes an employment outlook for Alberta. Employment forecast: growth in business and services industries, less government services, and implied lack of requirement for Liberal Arts in education.

Codes: SI, I, C, ET, LPS, P/E

Fugitive[1] Documents of 1990s

Name: Enhancing Alberta's adult learning system through technology policy, guidelines and procedures for the Learning Enhancement Envelope.
Type: Policy draft
Source: Government

This document deals with Alberta's agenda to enhance its electronic technology functions. $30 million is appropriated for adult education over a 3-year period: ET/WT. Purpose is to link educational institutions to provide leadership and increase productivity and efficiency by reducing barriers of time and place. AECD continues to support adult education linked with ET. AECD $10 million envelope for advanced ET to allow alternative ways of learning and distance education, including increased productivity. Discusses implementation and requirement of each institution to implement plans and have accountability of funds to AECD.

Codes: SI, direction of ET, P/E, PA

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[1] Fugitive documents refer to documents that have no known sources or are without full bibliographic citations.

Name: Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development 1994-95 Annual Report: Part 2.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

A summary of the year's events. Deficit reduction program reduced ministry's budget by $200 million. Tuition and fees have increased. Federal government is reviewing its role in labor market. Adult learning enrollment up but access funds to increase other types of education/training on hold until 1999/2000. Reviews satisfaction rates of Alberta learners. Unemployment rates reviewed as well. Those with university degrees fared best. Discussion of reduced government spending per public college student. Provincial grants down as well. Tuition and fees are up. Accountability via performance indicators noted as goal of Alberta's higher ed. system. Accountability and efficiency noted. Part of White Paper 1994.

Codes: ET, SI, LPS, PR, WT, PE

Jurisdiction: Province of British Columbia

Summary

There is a growing "mantra" over the 1990s, beginning in 1991, on economic competitiveness of the province, on workforce training to meet the needs of business and industry to enable these to compete internationally, and specifically on skill acquisition--"employability skills", applied skills, workplace skills. There are also both implications and directions for post secondary institutions to reform, both curriculum and delivery, in order to meet the needs of the private sector. Institutions are influenced to use more electronic technology, to increase collaboration with each other and with the private sector. The assumptions are that there is a changed workplace; that there is a high level of international competition for business and industry; and that there are new learners (i.e., different from the past). Furthermore, there is the assumption that "job shift" is occurring, mainly toward more service sector jobs.

Prevailing themes by category

- workforce training: for the needs and requirements of employers; to assist the provincial economy
- electronic technology: rapid increase in use in workplace; need for institutions to increase use in both curriculum and instructional delivery
- productivity and efficiency: reform or restructure institutions to improve training (e.g., modularized instruction, distributive learning, prior assessment); do more with the same or less finances
- partnerships: largely with the private sector (to meet their needs)and some with other institutions to improve efficiencies
- other: social programs--includes focus upon underrepresented groups; greater equality for women and the disabled; aboriginal self-determination; multiculturalism

Policy direction (promotion, support, report, legislation)

The major emphasis is upon meeting provincial and private sector economic needs, although in the context of government social programs. Post secondary education, especially community college education, is directed to shift more toward workforce training, both to assist students in obtaining jobs and to support the economic competitiveness of business and industry.

Important documents:

- British Columbia Labour Force Development Board (1995). Training for What? Ministry of Skills, Training, and Labour.
- Government of British Columbia (1994). College and Institute Amendment Act. Victoria: Queen's Printer.
- Ministry of Education, Skills and Training (1996). Charting a New Course. Victoria: Ministry of Education, Skills and Training.

Government documents:

Name: B.C. Ministry of Skills Training And Labour. Annual report 1994-1995. Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data. Victoria B.C.

Type: Government report
Source: Government department

This document is WT oriented. Geared to the labor market and business and industry which provides a link to internationalism as well. Workforce training examples include quick response training for recently unemployed or in need of additional skills; applied academics revolves around learning in the "real-world context", with hands on training. Partnerships with business are featured as means to allow for quick re-training and hands on experience. Also, institution can offer customized training packages for clients via a consulting role. Apprenticeship programs also discussed. International ed. policy formulated to support internationalization of campus and curricula to prepare the workforce for global competitiveness. Aboriginal programs fall under social programs (O).

Codes: WT, PA, PR, I

Name: Ministry of Skills, Training, and Labour, 1993-94 Annual Report. Province of BC. Canadian Cataloguing in Publishing Data.
Type: Government report
Source: Government affiliate

Document deals with the planning/intention to create a diversified and skilled workforce via productivity and efficiency (Ministry's plans to reduce gap between skill development in post secondary ed. and those needed in market). Workforce training in service sector may grow as largest job increase is in this area. Distance education with continuing ed. and other activities provide community and businesses with information through computer technology. ET visible: Open Learning Agency provides accessible education and certificates through partnering colleges. Internationalization is also a focus--scholarships for students interested in Pacific Rim areas. Social programs encompass child care access and curricular development for women and aboriginal peoples (literacy, transition to college).

Codes: WT, I, ET, PA

Name: B.C. Training and Education: A Critical Investment for an Aggressive Economy. A report by the CMA National Task Force on Skills Development and Training. June, 1990. The Canadian Manufactures Association.
Type: Policy proposal
Source: Private body

This document. promotes changes to curriculum, emphasizing workplace skills. Much said about creating a competitive workforce via education--focused upon more customer service delivery. Calls for ongoing training required to meet new skill development and leadership skills. Workforce oriented--goes hand in hand with competitiveness. Multi-skilled workers needed; adaptable employees. Suggests that students have not been adequately prepared mentally as well to face workplace. Apprenticeships are recommended. Recommends participation in community and training organizations and calls for reduced SI.

Codes: C, WT, PA

Name: B.C. Ministry of Advanced Education, Training, and Technology. Annual Report, 1989-90. Province of British Columbia.
Type: Government report
Source: Government affiliate

Document places emphasis upon changing workplace training to short term programs. Labor Market Information System (LMIS) noted to assess labor market conditions. B.C. wants to be competitive with a vision referring to a strong global economy, electronic technology, and research recommended to facilitate the knowledge based industry as more than 50% of new jobs created required at least 17 years of schooling. Goals deal with workforce training, linked with BC government's responsibility for knowledge creation, and partnerships with scientists in schools and centers of excellence.

Codes: C, WT, PA, ET

Name: B.C. Environmental Scan. Ministry of Skills, Training, and Labour, November, 1993.
Type: Government report
Source: Government department

This document deals with changing student demographics. Changes in curriculum promoted to fit with labor market. Increased immigration requires new types of programs and curricula; apprenticeships and co-op education should be strengthened. Predictions that jobs will require post secondary ed. Increase in demand of 30-44 yr. olds for training. Need for small business training and entrepreneurial programs. More part time students, with need for more flexible instructional schedules; lower skilled students will need more basic training through wide variety of delivery methods.

Codes: WT, MKT, I

Name: Job Futures: Labour Trends in British Columbia. 1994 Edition, Province of B.C., Canada.
Type: Government report
Source: Government

Document discusses changing environment and changed demographics. Higher productivity will lead to more competitiveness. Globalization defined as competing with companies with lower wages. 90% of job growth in services sector--implying a need for different curricula. Economic restructuring indicates that focus of education and training needs to be on job market and its needs: self-assessment, job search techniques, and occupational exploration for workers. Technology featured: researchers anticipate workplace needs people with these skills at an increasing rate. Demographics discussed: older students, more immigrants.

Codes: MKT, ET, R

Name: Annual Report for the period of April 1, 1991 to March 31, 1992. Ministry of Advanced Education, Training, and Technology. Province of B.C.
Type: Government report
Source: Government department

Document deals with increase in education and training. Workforce training high priority: Ministry invested $58.2 million in trades and trade apprenticeships. Open College established for workforce training system to respond to demands in business and industry for flexible, work-centered training. Apprenticeship programs partnering with business to improve training. Ministry also builds upon partnerships in four ways through advanced education, student financial assistance, skill development, and science and technology. Co-op programs encouraged so that graduates more employable post graduation. $129 million dedicated to create 3,666 new post secondary positions. Centers of Excellence networks improve science and tech. International education noted.

Codes: WT, PA, R.

Name: Ministry of Advanced Education, Training, and Technology. Annual Report 1992-93.
Type: Government report
Source: Government department

Document discusses demographics of BC students, graduation rates in study areas. Partnerships featured. Partnership programs make student transition to workplace. Skill development in science and tech partnerships with business. Acknowledges need to partner with those in labor market. Mentor programs promoted. Other categories contain issues such as social issues and resources. Distance ed. is expected to increase. Increased funding for literacy programs for immigrants including a multicultural aspect in curricula. Goal for international ed.--enhance links with Pacific Rim, cross-cultural communication, sensitivity.

Codes: I, O, PA, WT

Name: British Columbia Labour Force Development Board: Training for What? Ministry of Skills, Training, and Labour, 1995.
Type: Policy report
Source: Government department

The report is an important document for BC strategic plan. It promotes non-university education and training. Employability and skills are highlighted goals. Idea is to reform method of training. There is a demand for higher skills and stronger employability for competitive international environment. Workforce training is featured. Competitiveness drives the need for a proactive, flexible means of self-paced programs. Stats of job creation presented and future skill levels discussed. The present learning system does not meet workforce needs. Education reform for world class labor market is called for. Need for more innovation in dealing with labor partners. Balance between applied and academic programs mentioned although emphasis is upon workforce oriented programs. Providing the right skills for productive workforce is noted as the highest public policy issue according to the Labour Force Board. Reduction in Fed. funds puts pressure on institutions to make certain that student is meeting labor force needs. "Other" category deals with changing demographics: immigration main force of change.

Codes: MKT, PA, WT, P/E, ET

Name: Learning to work: The way ahead for British Columbians. Report of the British Columbia Task Force on Employment and Training. Executive Summary, 1991.
Type: Report
Source: Government appointed body.

Document is based upon issue of workforce training. Policy based upon environmental scan. Notes changing nature of jobs. Notes more service oriented jobs, with increased immigration increasing the need for more ESL. Technology claimed to reduce job opportunities. Globalization viewed as a driver of change in workforce needs.

Codes: WT, I

Name: Premier's Summit on Trade and Economic Opportunity. Summary of Proceedings, June 17-19, 1992.
Type: Government report
Source: Government

This document puts forth idea of strengthening education and training for business and industry, to attract foreign investment. Workplace vision is for BC to establish a reputation as a learning culture, producing quality graduates. Training is seen as an investment by business, labor and the public sector. The challenge is to transfer innovations in knowledge and skills to practical applications. Notes that public sector is slowly reducing its contribution. Immigration noted under internationalization of skills and demand. Other: social policy oriented.

Codes: MKT, WT, LPS, I with C as a driver.

Name: Lifelong Learning for the 21st Century. A Report on the Future Development of Adult/Continuing Education in BC. Ron Faris, Ph.D., Victoria, 1992.

Type: Policy initiative.
Source: Government consultant

Report is a policy initiative in which there is acknowledgment of ABE and ESL deterioration: that there is no Canadian policy. International competition and more adult learners call for a new approach to instruction. Partnerships highlighted. Applied programs are important. Restructuring featured. Ideas include all ABE transferring (consolidated) to the Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology. More state intervention via the College and Institute Act. Immigration necessitates ESL programs, for approx. 12,000 adults per year-most with no occupational skills. Recommendations: Life long learning as an organizing principle and social goal; equity and access to focus on needs, and a guarantee that special needs of adult learners are recognized, and Adult Education should respond to community needs.

Codes: MKT, R, I

Name: Continuing Education in British Columbia's Colleges and Institutes: A Foundation for Lifelong Learning. Prepared by Center for Policy Studies in Education, UBC British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education, Training, and Technology, May 1992.
Type: Report
Source: Government department

Promotes collaboration between PSE and private sector. Continuing education is equated with the "Invisible College." Competition between colleges noted as creating difficulties. More employers are paying for tuition. Increase in part time vocational students. Continuing ed. is 75% occupationally oriented. Government funds lacking and partnerships are encouraged as a result. Document touches upon restructuring--reduced staff, as a result of less public sector spending.

Codes: WT, C, PA, LPS

Name: Report of Steering Committee. B.C. Human Resource Development Project, November 1992.
Type: Report
Source: Government appointed body

The main idea of this document is to connect education to needs of private sector and employers, need for education reform, and increased use of technology. Notes inefficient transition from school to work; change in the character of adult learners--thus need to retrain older adults, and meet workplace needs. Partnerships with industry are obvious means of achieving goal of upgrading workforce skills via apprenticeships. "Learner Success strategies" noted. Social aspects include accessibility and accountability, affordability, comprehensiveness, equity, quality and responsiveness. Calls for restructuring of funding function--need more flexibility.

Codes: PA, MKT, R

Name: B.C. Premier's Summit Skills Development and Training. June 23-25, 1993. Summary of proceedings. British Columbia Institute of Technology, 1993.
Type: Institutional report
Source: Post secondary institution.

Document deals with shift of resource dependent economy towards a knowledge-based one and the workforce issues in need of change. Includes ideas such as employer funded training and industry-wide training. Partnerships needed with industry to ease student entry into job market. Goal are market oriented. Competition (C) runs throughout recommendations, such as the need to train workers according to international standards. Changing demographics noted. Institutional barriers to achieve goals are highlighted. Idea of connecting college and institutes to more marketplace economy is main theme.

Codes: MKT, C, P/E, WT, PA

Name: Premier's Summit: Skills Development and Training. June 23-25, 1993. Background paper. Dr. Roslyn Kunin and Dr. John Dennison contributed in published research.
Type: Report from experts
Source: Government body

Document ties education and training to jobs and job prosperity. Change PSE to upgrade skills. Notes that education initiatives must be geared to economic development of B.C. Emphasis on foundation skills and job-focused tech; training tied to economy. Better access to more efficient training is highlighted as crucial element of development. Education needed for job specific skills, including immigrant needs. Partnerships are featured as are co-op training with business, apprenticeships, and calls for employers to provide training or financial assistance. Proposes that co-op ed. should be expanded provincially and federal government. should contribute more funds. LPS an issue. ET and new information communications and production technologies pose challenges to institutions.

Codes: MKT, C, WT, PA

Name: B.C. in the Work Economy: Background paper prepared for the Premier's Summit on Trade and Economic Opportunity. June 17-19, 1992.
Type: Government policy research
Source: Government body.

There is growth in service sector and poor provincial productivity. Much about competition. Rankings of ed. levels compared to those of international trading partners. Workforce not equipped for upgrading and change--the weak link between ed. institutions and industry. Workforce training high on list of priorities. Statistics of how economic sectors contribute to B.C.'s GDP. Service is up; manufacturing is low. LPS: 50% drop in federal funds. ET is noted as single most important force in world economy: has enabled production in dispersed areas. B.C. is noted as Canada's main interface with world economy as the Pacific Rim is vortex of global growth. Competition is evident in decreasing barriers to trade--changing trade structure. B.C. is looking to be "internationalized".

Codes: C, WT, ET, I

Name: Employability Skills for British Columbia: Human Resource Development, B.C. Institute of Technology. Project sponsored by Human Resource Development Canada and B.C. Labour Force Development Board, July 1996.
Type: Policy proposal made to government.
Source: Post secondary institution

Clearly workforce training policy is important. Discusses needs of different size companies indicating that post secondary ed. should include the characteristics of the workplace. Employability skills are broken into categories: from math to managing own learning and performance. Talks about organizational. structures and the implications upon worker expectations. Much is said about electronic technology as well-- inter-linked with workforce training. Most businesses with the exception of service and goods producing organizations want employees with high information tech skills. Discusses preference of business and non-market oriented organizations for ideal employees. All have implications for higher education.

Codes: WT, ET

Name: Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Post secondary Education for Native Learners to the Honorable Bruce Strachan, Minister of Advanced Education, Training and Technology. Fraser Valley College, February 28, 1990.
Type: Report
Source: Provincial postsecondary institution

Document is designed to preserve a social program. Partnerships with govt. for funds to increase funding for native learners. Restructuring initiative. ET is noted in distance learning systems that should be available for both urban and rural locations. "Other" category covers statistics re: population of natives in higher ed. and preservation of native language, among other issues.

Codes: ET

Name: Charting a New Course: Ministry of Education, Skills and Training, Victoria, B.C., September 13, 1996.
Type: Policy
Source: Government department

This document focuses upon "new learners." Technology drives productivity. Global concept influences policy. Calls for altering instruction and learning. Competitive environment and employment. Access and adaptability of learners are stressed. Intention to make certain that employees are ready for global environment. Business partnerships are called for, with business input in program development. ET is forced upon institutions. With globalization, there is need for high skilled employees-- challenge to keep up in technological advances in market. Internationalization of curricula to help in cultural understanding.

Codes: WT, ET, I

Name: Special Report, April 1996. Beyond Secondary School Graduation. British Columbia Council on Admissions and Transfer. Vancouver, 1996.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

The report stresses applied academics. Its main goals are discussed. Attempt is to develop an integrated career system. Its purpose is in parts: 1) personal relevance, 2) social relevance, 3) improved transition, 4) seamless education system. Over an 8 year period there was an increase of those surveyed who graduated from at least one type of post secondary ed. institution (1985-93).

Codes: WT, P/E

Name: 1995 B.C. Colleges and Institutes Student Outcomes. Survey results by program for former College and Institute Students (B.C. Institute of Technology, Burnaby, February 1996). A report prepared for the B.C. Ministry of Education, Skills and Training and Human Resources Canada.
Type: Report
Source: Postsecondary institution

Report of the survey. Increase in student satisfaction with academic programs, more than vocational. Teamwork is a skill rated highly by labor force. 85% of respondents were in workforce one year after studies.

Codes: WT

Name: Adult Basic Education in British Columbia Colleges: 1996-97. An Articulation handbook produced for the Adult Basic Education Articulation Steering Committee by the Province of B.C. Ministry of Education Skills ad Training and the Center for Curriculum and Professional Development. Ministry of Education, Skills, and Training. Victoria, 1996.
Type: Policy
Source: Government affiliate

Idea of document is to improve efficiency for workforce training. The goals of ABE are stated and all deal with P/E and WT. Stressed need for more WT oriented programs. Purpose is to facilitate transfer of adult learners to enter job market with more employable skills.

Codes: P/E, WT

Name: Changing Employment Demand and Skills Needs in British Columbia: A discussion paper. Research and Analysis Branch: Policy, Planning and Resource Division of Skills, Training and Labour, August 1995.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

Document is about marketplace needs. Indicates interdependence of training and industry. More institutional restructuring required. Much on WT. Competition related to international context. ET for knowledge-based economy; this leads to changing structures and dynamics of labor market. Labor market demands are the driver of skills development.

Codes: WT, MKT, I, ET

Name: Major Reforms in Training Systems in Three Countries. An Update of Selected Reforms from 1994-5 in Australia, New Zealand and U.S. Ron Faris, Ph.D., consultant for Ministry of Skills and Training and Labor, Victoria, B.C. (updated 1996).
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department commissioned work

Document stresses the idea of reforming education to fit requirements of economy and workplace in context of international movement. Key themes of ed. reform are P/E oriented; international competition; and excellence in education. More links between education and economy, with efficiency in system. Promotes reform in education for knowledge-based economy and international competition. Reform should include partnerships, relevance, accessibility, quality, empowerment, technologies in education and training styles. Reforms viewed as preparation for competition in knowledge-based economy.

Codes: P/E, WT, I, PA

Name: Aboriginal Post secondary Education and Training Policy Framework. Ministry of Education, Skills and Training, 1995.
Type: Policy
Source: Government department

Proposals and policy for Aboriginal peoples. Restructuring for provision of accredited specialized to develop post secondary ed. system. Aim is to establish aboriginal controlled institutions and promote strategies necessary to increase education level. Includes social goals and statistics. WT is important, as highly trained graduates are needed for information economy. Driven by marketplace.

Codes: R, WT, MRK

Name: Impact of 1995 Budget. Skills and Training. Federal Provincial Relations and Research Branch. Ministry of Finance and Corporate Relations. March 25, 1995.
Type: Report
Source: Government department

Document deals in part with decrease in federal funds and provincial funds with no context from which to base the percentages presented.

Codes: LPS, P/E

Name: Review of B.C. Student Assistance and Barriers to Post secondary Participation. Final report. Ministry of Advanced Education, Training, Technology, September 1992.
Type: Report
Source: Government department

Document is P/E focused. Two themes run throughout document: simplification and equity. More on WT: notes that highly trained and educated are the base of any education reform. Information-based economy is driver. Many social issues discussed.

Basic principles include removing financial barriers; sharing of costs by society: assistance should be based upon needs of students and families.

Codes: P/E, WT, (O-social)

Name: B.C. Colleges and Institute's Student Outcomes Report, March 1, 1993. Executive summary. Province of B.C. Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology. B.C. Research Corp. Vancouver, 1993.
Type: Commissioned report
Source: Government department

Report presents and discusses statistics on training related jobs. Electronic technology is noted, as the information occupations employ the most career and vocational track students (72%). Yet report indicates that 73% of students in arts and sciences are satisfied. 61% met their objectives in Arts and Sciences.

Codes: WT

Name: Annual Report on Multiculturalism, April 1995-March 1996. Together We're Better. Multiculturalism, B.C. B.C. Ministry of Skills Training and Labour, Victoria.
Type: Report
Source: Government department

Report on multiculturalism. PA with community for funds and encourages partners for retraining and continuing education. Report on internationalizing curricula and best practices in bridging cultural gaps. Highlights B.C.'s Center for International Education. Institutions must find new ways to teach and serve new learners. Emphasis upon new Canadians and learning and skills needs, related to multiculturalism issues. Report stresses training for new international markets. Example: training for Vietnamese fishermen with skill development grant program. Minority and women are priorities. Asia and Pacific are international focus.

Codes: I, R, P/E, PA, WT

Name: Annual Report on Multiculturalism, 1995. Together We're Better. Multiculturalism, B.C. Ministry of Skills, Training and Labour, Victoria, B.C., April 1994-March 1995.
Type: Report
Source: Government department

Social issues are part of workforce training and policy. Presents means of development of issues for managers in diverse workplace. Asia Pacific awards noted: awards culture, economics, language.

Codes: WT, I

Name: Bill 23. 1994 Institute of Technology Amendment Act 1994, Minister of Skills Training and Labour, Victoria. Queens Printer for B.C., Victoria.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Legislation reflects policy change for governance. Law says that the institute must have an education council, which advises board and consults regarding the development of educational policy.

Codes: SI

Name: Forces of change influencing education and training. Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology, May 1992.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government department

WT oriented. Educated workforce leads to productivity. 50% growth of U.S. GDP due to better educated workers in U.S. Challenge is to identify appropriate balance between applied and liberal arts classes. Technology is driving economic globalization. Changes imply a need for increasing productivity and international trade. Educated foreigners will compete for jobs.

Codes: WT, I, C

Fugitive Documents of the 1990s

Name: Opportunities in Post secondary Education and Training. Ministry of Skills, Training and Labor.
Type: Report
Source: Government department

Document discusses ongoing learning. Applied programs are employment focused; co-op ed. is advocated to increase experience of students in the workforce. Remote areas need more ET as distance learning is becoming a more viable option for those in rural areas. Document stresses Open University access, flexibility. Discusses international links with Asia/Pacific region. "O" category contains characteristics of a community college, suggesting CCs suitability for applied training.

Codes: WT, I, ET

Name: International Education British Columbia. B.C. Center for International Education. Vancouver, B.C.
Type: Policy proposal
Source: Government affiliate

This document basically deals with the promotion of international higher education via partnerships with other educational institutions. Explains BCCIE--B.C. Center for International Education--a voluntary organization that promotes international ed. ET is also noted in that B.C. Institute of Technology is reported to be internationally recognized. Many references to internationalism, such as proposals to accept more qualified international students. Custom designed English as a second language programs also noted. Globalization also touched upon under "Other" category. Deals with work restrictions for international students and role of Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Codes: PA, I, ET

Name: The Report of the Post-Secondary Policy Forum on Distributed Learning Environments.
Type: Report
Source: Private body (consultants for govt.)

Document is about partnerships and collaboration, greater effectiveness, use of ET and govt. policy incentives. It appears to be a promotional piece with some policy influence.

Codes: MKT, PA, SI

Jurisdiction: Federal Canada

Summary

Canadian federal policy documents view post secondary education as workforce training. The federal role in education is confined to a training function; education per se is a provincial responsibility. The federal emphasis is upon employment and reducing unemployment, upon Canada's competitiveness, upon Canada's economy, and upon federal/provincial arrangements. There is little mention upon improving the quality of education or training, but there is emphasis upon the need for training to become more marketplace relevant, to meet the needs of employers. The majority of documents, however, address unemployment insurance, as this is a major federal initiative to transfer responsibility of unemployment and welfare away from federal government bodies to provincial government bodies. Policy is intended to reduce time on unemployment insurance and upon welfare suggesting an increase in employment. Thus, there is a need for training and re-training.

Prevailing themes by category

- Workforce training is over-riding category for federal documents; with emphasis upon reducing unemployment; promotion of international education, especially through student mobility (and related policy)--internationalize Canadian education to improve workforce; shifting responsibility for workforce training from Feds to provinces, and the resultant cutting of federal programs such as the purchase of training; promotion of closer ties of training institutions to business and industry.
- Internationalization: policies and programs encourage international education, partnerships with Canada and US and European Community--ultimately for economic benefit; unexploited source of revenues for Canadian educational institutions
- Electronic technology: tied to training and upgrading of workforce; associated with global competitiveness.

Policy direction (promotion, support, report, legislation)

In Canada, there is a shift in responsibility, between 1993 and 1999 from federal to provincial government bodies for workforce training and employment. The Feds claim they have to pour billions into higher education and training and now want to extricate themselves. A significant area is unemployment insurance where federal policy limits time that the unemployed can be on unemployment insurance. This demands that employment opportunities be available, thus there are incentives to employers to hire the unemployed. This also requires that the unemployed be trained or re-trained, and there are incentives to provincial government bodies for such programs. It is not clear, however, whether federal money is transferred to provinces for these programs or provinces are expected to provide programs (training) from already transferred federal funds.

Name: Human Resource Development Canada (HRDC): Community economic development and you, 1994. Minister of Supply and Services Canada: Ottawa, ON.
Type: Report

Source: Government body

Document discusses the threats to smaller Canadian communities such as a structural shift in Canadian manufacturing base with serious losses of plants, jobs, training opportunities, income, and subcontracting businesses. NAFTA influences Canadian and U.S. and Mexican universities in their need to prioritize training and retraining. Need to train individuals for international environment--becoming institutional priorities. World market offers more jobs, opportunities for business partnerships.

Codes: LA, MKT, I

Name: ACCC National Services Bureau Strategy--(1997-98 update).
http://www.accc.ca/eng/about/nsbstrat-9798.cfm
Type: Report
Source: Non-government body

Focus is CC, but not a clear picture overall. Workforce training is highly featured: National Sectoral Council and industry associations are changing way colleges respond to training or collaborate in identifying training needs. National Services Bureau (NSB) arm of ACCC is responsible for coordinating and supporting member college participation in national activities and in providing communication goals. Noted deficits in capital budgets of institutions. Govt. base funding decreased. Govt. is funding resources for ET (superhighway). Mobility, portability and transferability of education are an increasing focus area.

Codes: I, WT, LPS

Name: Lifelong learning on the knowledge highway. Ron Faris, 1995. Office of Learning Technologies, Human Resources Development Canada. Ottawa. ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Competition in the marketplace is driving this proposal, which is workforce oriented. It is noted that Canadians must prepare for emergence in increasing knowledge-based economy. The info highway is discussed and School Net is mentioned as a cooperative agreement of prov/terr/fed govt. educators; universities and colleges to ensure all of Canadians schools are linked to the Information Highway. Opportunities as a result of access to the info highway are outlined. Includes results and statistics of different reports/studies re: Canada's competitiveness in the market in regards to quantity of skilled labor. Idea is that Canada is lagging behind U.S. and other industrialized countries in workplace training. Ties ET to global competitiveness: lifelong learning an outcome of distance ed. and Real Time Communications (increase in distance learning in Canadian universities). Public sector funding constraints--public funding has not kept pace with enrollment growth.

Codes: ET, LPS

Name: The Adult Education Training Survey. Couillard, Robert, 1993. Employment and Immigration Canada. Statistics Canada.

Type: Government sponsored research body
Source: Government body

Promotes adult education and training. Tied to Canada's economic competitiveness--upgrading workforce. Govt. document discusses the need for education to step up to the challenges of the structural changes in the economy, such as emerging tech. Pressure to increase productivity--MKT oriented. Provides statistics re: percentages of Canadians in adult education, participation rates. Competition is driver as govt. realizes the country's economic future depends upon ability of its workforce to acquire more knowledge and training. Adult education is seen as a way to keep up with a changing world. Partnerships are also noted. Statistics re: internships, workforce training via business. Employers seen as way of providing needed on-the-job-training.

Codes: C, MKT, WT, PA

Name: Minister of Human Resource Development, Lloyd Axworthy, 1995. Federal and provincial support to post secondary education in Canada: A report to parliament 1993-94. Minister of Supply and Services Canada. Ottawa. ON.
Type: Report to government
Source: Government body

Federal funds to PSE. Discusses WT oriented scholarships (Industry Canada) for students entering post secondary studies in science, engineering and technology. Discusses characteristics of Canada's colleges and institutes. They meet training of private and public sectors. PA evident-as colleges have advisory councils to ensure programs are relevant to changing needs of communities. Representatives are from industry and labor unions.
Codes: WT

Name: Minister of Human Resource Development (1996). Federal and provincial support to post secondary education in Canada. A Report to Parliament 1994-95. Minister of Supply and Services Canada: Ottawa, ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Document discusses the role of govt. in higher education and federal support. Almost 50% spending in HED in 94/95 came from federal funds. Description of initiatives in science and tech programs, growth in meeting needs of disabled students. Outlines how funds are used for official language projects. Contains another description of the characteristics of programs and institutions. Emphasis on meeting needs of community especially in health care and business.

Codes: WT, SI

Name: New Developments at HRDC: A time of change…a time of transition. Presentation made to Local Advisory Committee on Training, Ottawa, ON., January 17, 1996.
Type: Report

Source: Government body

Job creation to decrease unemployment. Talks about Employment Insurance program. Responsibility for labor market training and ed. Will reduce duplication with provinces. Goal of EI is to encourage employers to make new jobs, and help unemployed. Fed govt. is withdrawing from apprenticeship training and co-op ed. programs. SI in that describes benefits of EI (wage subsidies). $300 million for Transitional jobs fund. New Service Delivery Network discussed.

Codes: WT

Name: Human Development of Canada (1995). Program for North American Mobility in Higher Education launched in cooperation with Mexico and US. News Release, June 1, 1995.
http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/hrdc/hrib/learnlit/policy/academic/newsrele/9537.html
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Discusses WT project focus. Facilitate student mobility. PA: new innovative multinational projects among government and academic communities and private sectors in 3 countries. Program will support development of international joint projects between universities, colleges and tech institution in the 3 countries.

Codes: I

Name: HRDC. (1995). Program of cooperation with European Countries will provide important academic mobility opportunities for Canadian Students. News Release, Dec. 19, 1995.
Type: Report/proposal
Source: Government body

Outcome of NAFTA. Mobility of students and professionals. By internationalizing students, Canadian workforce will be more knowledgeable and prepared for a global workforce. Idea is to promote greater mobility: support joint projects with Canadian and 15 European countries--PA. Joint curricula and teaching materials will be part of program.

Codes: I

Name: HRDC. (1996). Government Body of Canada announces support for six projects under Canadian-European academic exchange program. News Release, May 27, 1996.
Type: Policy
Source: Government body

Program is to enhance competitiveness of Canada. Discusses the six projects under the Canadian-European Community Program for Higher Education and Training. Labor-Force Development Agreements discussed: idea is to find scope of training expenditures by both levels of government. Partnerships with business, labor and local communities needed to ensure relevance of program. Federal government reform involves investing in prevention including school-to-work transitions and adopting lifelong learning as a life-long goal. Questionable if this only applies to universities or to colleges as well.

Codes: I

Name: Federal Provincial Support to Post secondary Education in Canada: A Report to Parliament. 1993-94. HRDC, 1995, Ottawa. ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Discusses public sector funding constraints. Money in Centers of Excellence programs and the Department of Industry, Science, and Technology awarded monies to Canadian Institute for Advanced Research. Funding going in direction of hard sciences and language programs.

Codes: MKT, LPS

Name: Federal-Provincial support to Post secondary Education in Canada: A report to Parliament. 1994-95. HRDC, 1996, Ottawa, ON.

Type: Report
Source: Government body

Money delivered in blocks to provinces and territories as of 1996. Transfers decreased by $1.8 million dollars from 94-95 to 96-97. Increase in money for advanced research through the Dept. of Industry, Science, and Technology.

Codes: MKT, LPS

Name: The Class of 86 Revisited: A Compendium of Findings of the 1991 follow-up of 1986 Graduates Survey with comparisons to the 1988 National Graduates Survey. Barr-Telford, L., Bowlby, G., & Clark, W. HRDC. Statistics Canada, 1996.
Type: Report
Source: Government body commissioned group

Reports on the status of graduates in occupational fields. Most graduates with academic degrees worked in their field while vocational graduates did not. Men's salaries' higher than women's. Engineering and applied science graduates had highest employment rates. Work experience desired by employers. Minority rates of employment strengthened through vocational studies. Recession affected employment rate, but those with academic degrees faired better during this time period than those without.

Codes: WT

Name: Evaluation of the Employability Improvement Program. Final Report. Evaluation and Data Document. Strategic Policy HRDC, 1995.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Discusses objective of EIP, its components, client profiles, results and effectiveness. Also compared EIP with Canadian Jobs Strategies. Public sector funding constraints: unemployment insurance can be used to pay for schooling. Private sector interaction: classroom instruction combined with employee training programs. Intervention of the state: emphasis on hard-core unemployed and employer partnerships results in more vocational training than academic education.

Codes: LPS, WT, PR

Name: Human Resource Development Canada. (1995). Employability improvement program. Program evaluation. Ottawa, ON.
Type: Promotion
Source: Government body

Discusses goals of EIP, the provisions of Project-Based Training and purchase of training. Document. is a promotion piece for workforce training and evaluation of programs.

Codes: WT

Name: Interprovincial labour mobility in Canada: The role of unemployment insurance and social assistance, 1995. HRDC, Ottawa, ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

A federal govt. study of Canadian workforce. Discusses inter-provincial mobility as a labor market adjustment among younger population. Stats. of population receiving UI benefits are reported. Study concludes that direct labor market policy interventions do not significantly influence the probability of inter-provincial labor mobility during 1988-90.

Codes: SI, LA

Name: New England education industry. Department of Foreign Affairs and international Trade. (1996). Canadian Consulate General, Boston.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Details of international education in higher education. Answers why New Englanders are interested in studying in Canada.

Codes: I

Name: Education Marketing in the United Kingdom. Department of Foreign Affairs (1996). Ottawa, ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Document reports that students in London are interested in studying in Canada. Canada-European Union Co-operation in Higher Ed and training programs noted. UK is noted to be an excellent market to promote Canadian Studies. The focus is upon universities. Market forces could be driver of increased internationalism.

Codes: 1

Name: Education Marketing in Argentina. Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1996. Ottawa, ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

All internationalization of HED. Argentina needs support and guidance from other countries to improve its system of higher education. Canada could be one of the supporters. In the mid-60s, Argentina and Canada started reform projects jointly. Canada succeeded; Argentina's did not, but started from same place.

Codes: 1

Name : Education marketing in Brazil. Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Ottawa, ON. Lavelle, M., 1996.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Notes that the great majority of grad students in position to qualify for various scholarships for study abroad. 3 out of 8 students in HED who study abroad pay for their own studies. This situation represents an unexploited source of revenue for Canadian education markets. Partnerships with Brazilian business. Trends indicate an increasing demand for multimedia tech.

Codes: 1

Name: Educating Marketing in Mexico, 1996. Dept. of Foreign Affairs, Ottawa, ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Document is about the effects and needs in the market as a result of increasing numbers of Mexican students studying abroad as a result of NAFTA. Globalization increases the market for Mexicans studying abroad. Notes the most solicited programs and market mediums to contact Mexican students. Unclear as to how many of these students are at community colleges.

Codes: 1

Name: The gender earnings gap among recent post secondary graduates, 1984-92. Statistics Canada, 1994, Wannell, T., & Caron, N., Ottawa, ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Impact of early 1980s recession and influences of a changing economy noted. Reports that women comprised majority of community college graduates in each class studied: 1982, 1986, 1990. Differences remain in fields of study but more women are increasing in traditionally male dominated fields. Young people suffered most during 1980s recession, especially those with minimal education.

Codes: WT

Name: Minister of Supply Services (1995). A 21st century employment system for Canada.
Type: Proposal
Source: Government body

Workforce training oriented. Document indicates federal measures to decrease unemployment. Fed govt. will work with provinces to implement EI's new employment measures focusing on what works. Proposes an EI system to provide Canadians with basic income protection; includes a range of new employment measures to help people obtain jobs.

Codes: WT

Name: Post secondary education in the knowledge economy: Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) submission to Senate subcommittee on post secondary education, January 1997.
Type: Policy
Source: Non-government body

Need for technologically skilled workers for the knowledge based economy. Canada is in shortage. In partnership with Canadian International Development Association (CIDA), community colleges and tech institutes have been a focus on transfer of knowledge in fields of tech and vocational ed. and lead in creation of international commercial opportunities for small and medium enterprises. Promotional.

Codes: WT, I

Name: More that 200 Canadian students to participate in North American Academic exchange program. HRDC News Release, Sept 29, 1995.
Type: Policy
Source: Government body

Document is discussion of implementation of govt. policy. Promotes international connections. Program encourages international student mobility and strengthening of

Canada's HR development capacity within North America. The Program for North American Mobility in Higher Education connected to NAFTA. Current projects involve over 200 Canadian students over next three years.

Codes: I

Name: Human Resources Development of Canada. (1995). Program of cooperation with European Countries will provide important academic mobility opportunities for Canadian students. News Release, December 19, 1995.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Rhetoric about contributing to the development of a better prepared and knowledgeable workforce by promoting opportunities for Canadians to expand their international activities. Dictates mobility of students and professionals.

Codes: I

Name: Minister of Human Resources Development. (1994). Improving social security in Canada. Employment development services: A supplementary paper. Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Federal govt. shifting responsibilities to prov/terr. for programs such as institutional and workplace based training, literacy service delivery, training projects. Provinces and territories are to establish "single-window" offices which would provide labor force development services. Details Canadian Labor Force Development Board requirements for workforce training. Possible threat is the issuance of vouchers to clients so they can directly purchase the training they need. Stats. on number of jobs created and expected to be available in the future. Trends of labor market noted.

Codes: WT

Name: Office of the Prime Minister (1995). The Prime Minister delivers on referendum commitments with initiatives for change. News Release, Nov. 27, 1995, Ottawa, ON.
Type: Report
Source: Government

Document says that the govt. of Canada will withdraw from labor market training, apprenticeship programs, co-operative education programs and workplace-based training; and it will no longer purchase training courses from prov. establishments.

Codes: LPS

Fugitive Documents of the 1990s

Name: Clarifying the federal role in the labor market. HRDC

Type: News Release
Source: Government body

Fed policy shift to provincial govt. for employment. Shift burden to provincial. Federal government body will no longer purchase training programs from prov., public, or private institutions and will withdraw from apprenticeship training and co-op education: LPS. Govt. has interest in building institutional capacity within private sector for national industrial human resource development strategies. Fed govt. has role in labor market development as they have responsibility for EI, labor mobility and national economic management.

Codes: SI, PR, LPS

Name: Proposal to the provinces and territories on active employment measures. Statement by the Honorable Douglas Young, HRDC.
Type: Government policy
Source: Government official

Mixture of codes. Provincial responsibility for WT. Competition is creating more jobs in new economy. Partnerships with provinces and territories on active employment measures that respect responsibility of prov. for labor market training. Provinces have opportunity to deliver active employment measures funded through EI--they can use these funds to meet the market needs, help in job placement and assist with career plans. Funding has ended, however, for co-op ed and workplace training. Phase out of federal presence in labor market training.

Codes: WT, R ,PA

Name: Income Benefits and Employment Benefits on-line
Type: Federal policy
Source: Government body

Federal govt. policy and incentive to promote employment--few specifics on job-training. Less funds for people to remain unemployed--promote employment. Subsidize employers to encourage hiring. New rules re: unemployment benefits--decrease length. New approach emphasizes personal responsibility and local commitment. Skills Loan grants available to some unemployed workers willing to invest in new job training. Job creation will provide jobs to unemployed workers through partnering with prov. and local communities. Income benefits under EI will be structured to make work pay, rewarding effort and initiative. 5 basic tools to help people bridge back to employment are outlined. International education is discussed in the context of NAFTA and EC. Money bestowed to support students in developing countries to study in Canada. Partnerships and funds are key issues in this area.

Codes: WT, SI, LPS,

Name: Employers and community partners. Helping people return to work. HRDC.
Type: Policy

Source: Government body

Document is workforce training oriented. Goal is to reduce unemployment. The new EI single goal is getting people back to work as quickly as possible. The new approach will eliminate overlap and duplication to ensure that govt. and communities work together in innovative ways. Feds will work with partners to assess community's development goals, evaluate community's capacity to create jobs. Sector Councils, which are led by the private sector, could provide competition for CCs. Reducing unemployment is a major theme.

Codes: WT

Name: Bill C-17. http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc....ist/chap23/23bus3_e.html
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Part of maintaining election promise to create jobs, govt. reduced UI worker premiums, which is estimated to help maintain or create 40,000 jobs. Restructuring of the benefit structure noted.

Codes: WT

Name: The new employment insurance system. HRDC, Brochure covers information 6/30/96 to 1/1/97. http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/hrdc/ei/ina068_e.html
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Discusses effects of the new system. Promotes return to work of unemployed and retraining. The EI system replaced the UI Act and the National Training Act. Focus is shifted to active employment measures. Goal is to encourage people to return to the job market and workplace. Act has 2 parts: (1) merits of a rapid return to work, and (2) creation of active re-employment measures.

Codes: WT

Name: Getting Canadians back to work. A proposal to provinces and territories for a new partnership in the labor market. HRDC.
Type: Proposal
Source: Government body

Change in federal role. Emerging responsibilities for WT. Govt. of Canada will phase-out funding in such areas as the direct purchase of training, apprenticeship training, co-op training. There will be no federal activity in these program areas after 1999. Bill C-12 proposed is new employment insurance program to promote jobs and growth.

Codes: LPS, WT, SI

Name: The transitional job fund. HRDC. http://.www.hrdc-drhc.gc….ch/newsrele.9679bc.html
Type: Proposal
Source: Government

Federal government incentive for job creation but not necessarily institutional training. This fund supports job creation in regions with high unemployment, providing solid base for new EI system. Can be used to support strategic sectors (e.g., info tech, tourism) through sectoral initiatives or new fed-provincial cooperation agreements targeting funds for sectors in individual province, small and med. sized businesses. Encourages joint partnership initiatives between fed and province government, private sector and local communities.

Code: WT

Name: Introduction. HRDC. http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc….tv/eilaunch/sc1131e.html
Type: Proposal
Source: Government body

Neo-liberal proposal. Funding for training could be provided to provinces through third parties, depending on individual agreement reached with each prov and only with its consent. EI is major investment in govt.'s agenda for jobs and growth.

Codes: WT

Name: Backgrounder 1. HRDC. http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc….ch/nesrele/9579ble.html
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Federal policy promotes less reliance upon fed government for fiscal resources for institutions. Change over time. Decreasing federal fiscal support of HED and CCs particularly. Technological innovations contributes in the form of an automated job market/kiosk for on-line job marketing services. Notes on how to help those in need of re-training. Five basic steps.

Codes: WT

Name: Maximum Insurable Earnings and Premium rate.
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Government building a reserve to ensure premiums held stable during periods of economic downturns and allow government to pump money into economy during periods of recession, cushioning extent of the downturn and preserving jobs. Has impact upon WT. Reduces incentives for unemployment.

Codes: WT

Name: Managing the transition.
http://www/ hrdc-drhc.gc....ch/newsrele/9579b6e.html
Type: Report
Source: Government body

Unemployment Insurance program costs will be reduced by 10% with a portion of savings reinvested into a set of direct, back to work measures.

Codes: WT

Name: Canada in the world. Summary & Chapter 5. Projecting Canadian Values and Cultures. Department of Foreign Affairs
Type: Proposal
Source: Government body

Discusses economic benefits to Canada if institutions pursue international markets. Skills, education social adaptability are key elements of international advantage. Educational system will contribute to economic success. Govt recognizes key importance of international higher ed.: work closely with provinces, private sector, universities and community colleges to promote Canadian institutions to foreign students and encourage mobility of Canadian student through exchange programs.

Codes: I

Jurisdiction: State of California

Summary

Beginning in the early 1990s, and most apparent in the mid-1990s, there are descriptions of new and expanding roles for community colleges, including their role in economic development of California and in training a workforce for global competitiveness of the state. There are references to limitations on funding from the state, and little suggestion that state funding is going to increase in any significant fashion. Also there are references to changing demographics, with increasing minority populations soon to become majority (by 2002). Some reference to governance, with tension between central and local governance. Little sense of accomplishment; little reference to social issues. The dominant role of the state seems to be funding and policy directives to institutions for increased productivity and a greater economic role.

Prevailing themes by category

- Workforce training: for the needs and requirements of employers; to assist the state economy; new employment demands in specific areas and decreasing demands in traditional manufacturing sectors.
- Less public sector funding available: increasing student numbers and government funding that does not keep pace.
- Productivity and efficiency: reform or restructure institutions to improve instruction; do more with the same or less finances.
- Changing demographics: increased immigration; increased minority populations; increased needs for English language training.

Policy direction (promotion, support, report, legislation)

The major emphasis is upon meeting state and private sector economic needs, in light of changing economic environments, driven by global economies. Post secondary education, especially community college education, is directed to shift more toward workforce training, both to assist employers in filling jobs and to support the economic competitiveness of business and industry. Also, corresponding with this role emphasis is the directive that institutions must alter, becoming responsive to external needs, using electronic technology for efficiency and instructional innovations, including distance education and improved methods to assess students to ensure increased productivity. Overall, emphasis upon productivity (as opposed to finding new revenue sources).

Important documents:

- Report of the Commission on Innovation to the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges. (1993). Choosing the future: An action agenda for community colleges. California: Board of Governors, California Community Colleges.
- State of California. (1996). Economic development program codes and new legislation, Revised, November 18, 1996. Education and Government Code, Chapter 1214 and Chapter 805 of State Statutes, California.

- 2005 Task force of the Chancellor's Consultation Council. (1997). Technical papers. California Policy Analysis and Management Information Services Division, Chancellor's office.
- State of California. (1988). Assembly Bill No. 1725. Approved by Governor September 29, 1988. Filed with Secretary of State Sept. 19, 1988.[2]

Government documents:

Name: Telecommunications Infrastructure Model Master Plan and Guidelines Appendix A. ORSA Consulting Engineers, Inc., Fullerton California, for The California State University. 1995.
Type: Policy draft
Source: Private group

The entire document revolves around the engineers' recommendations to upgrade the electronic technology systems of select CAL State universities (Sacramento, LA, Dominguez Hills, and San Jose). Electronic technology and cost containment are key issues. Goal is to meet the demand for projected future enrollment figures. Focus of process is driven by their perceived need of the updated electronic infrastructure to attract students and compete with other California post secondary institutions.

Codes: C leading to ET and PE.

Name: California State School-to Career Plan (STTC), 1995.
Type: Description of legislation:
Source: Government affiliate

The federal mandate is called STC in California. Determination of document author is unknown. Implied author is a consortium of individuals from various groups after receiving the legislature's approval. Includes minor background as to why STC is necessary and recommendations demonstrate its desire to meet needs of individuals involved in the program. Politically correct rhetoric is present. Much is said about partnerships between community colleges (CCs), high schools and businesses. Promotes working together.

Codes: PA partially determined by MKT and as a result R may occur.

Name: Economic Development Program Codes and New Legislation. Revised 11/96
Type: Legislation
Source: State Legislature: Education Code and Government Code including AB 1497 Chpt. 1214 of the Statutes of 1991 and SB 3512 Chpt. 805 of the 1994 Statutes.

Document is a piece of government legislation that dictates what must occur in California's education system. Workforce oriented in form and adheres to typical MKT responsive behavior. Includes areas of community involvement and a competitive agenda to advance CA in the global environment. It also involves state intervention re: graduate instruction, professional and Ph.D. areas. The notion that state is dictating procedure is entirely SI. A typical business-like elaborated mission statement/policy.

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[2] Although a 1988 document that pre-dates the study period, impact and profile of this legislation are considerable in 1990s. Several 1990 documents give extensive coverage to parts of the legislation.

Codes: WF and SI

Name: Assembly Bill No. 1725. Approved by Governor September 29, 1988. Filed with Secretary of State Sept. 19, 1988.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Although passed into law in 1988, this bill has several sections that are invoked for 1989, 1990, and 1991. Furthermore, the legislation alters the legal foundation for California community colleges in the 1990s. Overall, the legislation increases the state's role in directing ccs, aiming at greater productivity and accountability. Legislation also promotes state government policy, such as affirmative action. A major change to the legislation is in governance, with a requirement for employee and student participation in institutional decisions on academic governance.

Codes: SI, LA, P/E, LPS, WT, PA

Name: Memo from David Mertes, Chancellor of California community colleges, to Superintendents and Presidents, Members, Consultation councils, Boards of Trustees, Academic Senate Presidents, and other interested parties, regarding AB 1725: First major Update, August 21, 1989
Type: Report on legislation
Source: Government affiliate official

Relays the elements of restructuring the system based upon state's mandate regarding California's community colleges mission, governance, finance, new programs such as staff development, instructional improvement, affirmative action compliance issues, and tenure decisions.

Codes: MKT, R

Name: Memo from David Mertes, Chancellor of California Community Colleges, to Superintendents and Presidents, Member, Consultation councils, Boards of Trustees, Academic Senate Presidents, and other interested parties, regarding AB 1725: Second Major update: Oct. 5, 1990.
Type: Report of Legislation
Source: Government affiliate official

The memo states that the mission statement of CCC's institutional research is focused upon student learning and retention and is dependent upon the extent of state funding, whereas the first update re: AB 1725 indicated no change. This update discusses finances, including how much and from whom the funds are coming, and employment policies. Accountability pilot test in certain districts. The general idea is that the state is attempting to create more hierarchical and business-like institutions with strict controls.

Codes: MKT, C, R, SI.

Name: Funding Patterns in California Community Colleges: A Technical Paper for the 2005 Task Force of the Chancellor's Consultation Council. November 1997. Policy

Analysis and Management Information Services Division, Chancellor's Office, California Community Colleges.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government affiliate

Revenues have increased but still lower than those of UC and CSU systems. Discusses decreased public funding and lack of taxpayer votes for education. Discusses rising costs but in comparison to other college districts, ccs have managed to keep them lower. Basically a report of how the CCC is doing economically and from an operational perspective.

Codes: LPS, P/E, ET

Name: Funding Scenarios in California Community Colleges: A Technical Paper for the 2005 Task Force of the Chancellor's Consultation Council, November 1997. Policy Analysis and Management Information Services Division, Chancellor's Office, California Community Colleges.

Type: Policy background
Source: Government affiliate

This document creates four economic and population growth scenarios re: the future of the California economy. The impetus of the report is to analyze the effects of Proposition 98. Each scenario indicates that CCCs will suffer decreased public funding. There will not be enough money to meet the demands of the students implying that other avenues may be need to create funds: the entrepreneurial constitution of programs and departments.

Codes: LPS, MKT, PA

Name: Trends Important to California Community Colleges: A Technical Paper for the 2005 Task Force of the Chancellor's Consultation Council, November 1997. Policy Analysis and Management Information Services Division, Chancellor's Office, California Community Colleges.
Type: Policy background
Source: Government affiliate

Paper discusses demographics, such as increasing 18-24 yr. olds and 55+ population increases. More women and minorities are expected to make up a large proportion of the workforce. Technology is expected to be the main skill subject in demand, implies CCCs must upgrade facilities and instruction of tech skill courses. They are meeting market demand. Outsourcing is a trend within companies allowing cc to step in with contract training programs. International trade is also a factor. Funding is decreasing, as California voters will not support higher taxes for education, causing potential decrease in enrollments (budget can only allow so many students). Restructuring programs to short term training credential type of programs is also expected to be in demand.

Codes: MKT, ET, WT, PE, C, COM

Name: Choosing the Future: An Action Agenda for Community Colleges. Report of Commission on Innovation to the Board of Governors of the California Colleges, October 1993. Staff Associates: Executive Directors: Paul Berman and Daniel Weiler.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate.

Point of the paper deals with PE and how to meet the needs of students and community with fewer funds. Authors acknowledge CA's changing economy--the need for high skilled workers. They suggest that the CCCs, with private and public sector. Basically, the authors suggest that business-like behaviors be called for to ensure community college survival. As a result, there is much said about restructuring instructional delivery. Community colleges should be one-stop shops for those in need of quick assessment, education, training, retraining, and employment screening for all workers in transition. Efficiency is called for on the part of the faculty, as the student is the client, not customer.

Codes: MKT, C, PE, WT, ET, R.

Name: Corridors to Economic Growth and Employment. 1994-1995 Final Report to the Governor and the Legislature. Chancellor's Office , California Community Colleges, Economic Development Network (ED/NET) July, 1996.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

Document is basically a summary of the year's economic development efforts. ED NET is described, as well as reports on initiative programs such as Small Business Development Centers (SBDC), Center for International Trade, workplace learning Resource centers, various leadership and technical assistance programs, the Regional Business Resource Assistance Center, Center for Applied Technology, contract education, and others.

Codes: WT, ET, C, PA, PR driven by LPS and MKT

Fugitive documents of 1990s

Name : California Community Colleges Economic Development Program "Ed-Net" Strategic Plan. Adopted 1992.
Type: Policy draft
Source: Government affiliate

This document appears to be a plan that originated from a consortium of California community colleges. There are many applicable codes (PA, PR, ET, WT), but the main point of the program is to increase PE of CCCs via meeting and working with outside groups such as business and industry. Idea is to operate more like a business in order to survive with partnerships with business.

Codes: PE, ET

Name: Governmental Funds Group. 10 General Fund, 11 unrestricted Subfund, 12.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Document dictates how state, county and local tax monies received by a community college district will be distributed through the district general fund. Tight rules as to treatment and categorization of the sub fund area. The county treasurer maintains a district's general fund, and the district can create other sub funds or different funds in the General Fund. Implications are lack of governance. Administration will adhere to legislation, and possibly become more responsible for financial success. State is directing college financial management, which may or may not lead to entrepreneurial behaviors by certain departments or administrators and faculty alike to obtain more funds. The market is the driving force. The state is responsible for the education system and the pressure to make the system "work" is appealing to voters.

Codes: SI and PE driven by MKT and C.

Name: Status report of California's School to Career Initiative.
Type: Review of policy
Source: Government affiliate

This document is another summary of the federal mandate of the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994. Act is designed for colleges to work with high schools to increase academic achievement and work-based learning. It is expected that certification will be based on competency rather than Carnegie units (R). The use of federal dollars is dictated the state (SI), to increase economic development. To achieve this, work training is key and is detailed by State (SI).

Codes: MKT, PR, WT, SI.

Name: Ed Net. Community College Economic Development Network. New Resources for California Business. Strategic plan 1992-1995.
Type: Plan
Source: Government affiliated

As stated in title, the document is business-oriented, as Ed Net is designed to promote economic development via SI, ET, PR and PA. Methods are described to increase economic development. ET oriented. Document states the goal is to meet California's workforce demands (WT), identify economic development priorities (MKT) and do via partnerships (PA, PR).

Codes: MKT, PA, ET, WT

Jurisdiction State of Washington

Summary

There is increasing emphasis upon three themes: increased productivity (efficiency), workforce training, with stress upon new workplace needs, and the state's economy, including a competitive environment. There is little focus upon social issues, with employment as the only socially related issue. Here, there is a focus upon re-training and training for the long-term unemployed or dislocated workers, with some reference to minorities and women. There are increasing government efforts to direct the institutions, including the development of a higher education system, first by amalgamating the CCs and the technical colleges and second by establishing a higher education coordinating board.

Prevailing themes by category

- workforce training: considerable talk in early 90s and action in mid 1990s; efforts to match education and training with workplace; increasing discussion of competitive environment and "high skills/high wages", acknowledgement of changing vocations and workplace needs, with loss of traditional manual and mechanical vocations; emphasis upon training for dislocated, for immigrants, for severely unemployed, for people of color
- productivity and efficiency: tied to less government funding for institutions; push especially in mid 1990s for CCs to increase efficiencies, including use of electronic tech, better completion and employment of students; forcing colleges to use more p/t faculty and fewer f/t faculty, to use staff to do professional work, such as advising; finance driven programming and operations; highly state dependent
- state intervention: state direction and centralization of decision-making, with state pushing institutions to greater efficiencies and movement toward increased workforce training; policy and fiscal support for educational technologies and distance education; changing of fee collection so that colleges can retain tuition fees; changes to fee payers so that ABE, ESL and some categories of unemployed are tuition free
- Internationalization: mainly a means to locate additional revenues, although there is some mention (in master plan) about the need for an internationally savvy workforce and the need for CCs to include internationally-oriented curriculum

Policy direction (promotion, support, report, legislation)

Considerable policy shift so that colleges are more economic instruments of the state, driven in policy and funding at least by state government. Legislation supports greater centralization both state-wide (amalgamation in 1991 of state CCs and technical colleges) and at district offices (collective bargaining). Also centralization with a state wide higher education coordinating body (collaboration, distance education); and through the legislature (funding, targeted funding). But somewhat in contrast, new legislation in 1993 permits districts to establish senates, but also forbids strikes.

Important documents:

- Government legislation, 1991-1993.

- Higher Education Coordinating Board (1996). The challenge for higher education. State of Washington Master Plan for Education.

Government documents:

Name: Title 11. Board for WAC Community and technical colleges. (1993). General Description of State Board Organization and Operations.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Increasing system co-ordination. Calls for mass distribution of unsolicited course and enrollment information to be held within district boundaries. "Shared funding" refers to funds provided on basis of agreement between college district and co-operating agency or organization for purpose of augmenting state fund support above current funding level. Credit for high school students at ccs., or tech college. State intervention re: tuition and fees, courses.

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). 1989. Fall Quarter Report.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Demographics changing; rising enrollments. Workforce training oriented. Contracted programs supported by community on the rise. Description of governing boards.

Codes: WT, PR, SI

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Fall Quarter Report 1989.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Colleges managed enrollments to stay within legislated FTE limits. Implemented programs to increase retention of current students. Vocational courses FTE stable. Academic courses featured. Contract-supported courses on the rise.

Codes: LPS, SI, PR

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Academic year Report 1990-91.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Focuses upon changing demographics and increase of student funded programs. Fifty five percent contracts from business. Five Washington technology colleges merged with community colleges. 1968 legislation changed. State funds decreasing.

Codes: R, LPS, O

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Fall Quarter Report, 1990
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Modest change, not all clear. Contract training looks like they could treat as enrollment. Growth in contract and student funded courses. Lowest state supported FTEs in system's history.

Codes: P/E, LPS, O

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Fall Enrollment & Staffing 1991. 1992.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Losing contract services numbers. FTE enrollment still rising. Much is said regarding workforce training. Losing new students.

Codes: WT, SI, O (demographics)

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Fall Enrollment & Staffing 1992. 1993
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Colleges working to improve services for entering students--student services as a vehicle for P/E. Notes on contract training. Technical colleges not able to grow as funding cuts in past year. Result is a mix of students served by colleges different today than in past--curtailing growth. Indicates that 1980's had higher FTE's enroll than in 1992. More part-time faculty members are being hired.

Codes P/E, LPS, WT

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Fall Enrollment & Staffing, 1993. 1994.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Policy regarding tuition changing: ABE and ESL tuition free. FT/PT faculty ratio--changing costs. Rise in contract training. FTE enrollment increased over last year. Restructuring of Washington's economy indicating a need to retrain workers. Increase in displaced workers. State supported faculty up 2.3% from last year. Majority of instruction in basic skills courses taught by part-time faculty.

Codes: PR, WT, SI, O (demographics)

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Academic year report 1991-92. 1993.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Expenditures for FTE down. 1991 Community & Technology College Act noted. Title III-E (Technology Preparatory) funds in Washington allocated on competitive basis to consortia of business, labor, community, government, and secondary and postsecondary schools.

Codes: WT, R, SI, P/E

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Academic year report 1992-93. 1993.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Increase in vocational course offerings over past 5 years. 6.6% reduced state revenues in 1992. Policy to increase distance education and use to increase enrollment. Impact of tuition fee for ABE: enrollments rising. GED is integrated into ABE (free) program. Ten year capital plan designed to install infrastructure and equipment to enable distance learning and interactive video resulting in an policy/plan to develop distance education.

Codes:
P/E, LPS, ET

Name:
State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Fall Enrollment & Staffing 1994. 1995.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Replace professional with paraprofessional in staffing. Academic degrees increasing in past five years. Possible reason is changing work patterns. Higher FTE but lower headcount: suggests de-professionalization.

Codes: ET, P/E. PR

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Academic year report 1994-95. 1995.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Changing costs, decreasing rise in public sector infusion of capital for educational technology. Rise in public sector contract training. Decline in private sector. More efficient regarding amount spent per FTE. Increase in rise of full time students. Number of academic degrees rising.

Codes: ET, P/E, PR

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Fall Enrollment & Staffing 1995. 1996.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Shifting program growth and decline. Tuition free ABE driving enrollment decline in Academic Programs. Predicting rise of new students in coming decade. Rising FTEs. Colleges replacing some retiring full-time faculty with part-time. State budget cuts resulted in increased use of part-time faculty. Increased need to retrain workers.

Codes: P/E, WT, LPS

Name: State Board for Community College Education (SBCE)/State of Washington Information Services and Enrollment Planning (SWSEP). Fall Enrollment & Staffing 1996 Draft.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Highest FTE ever. 2.6% above Fall of 1995. Number of workforce training students declined while number of students for transfer increased slightly. Employers in Washington having hard time finding qualified technology workers. Rising international population.

Codes: WT, I

Name: Washington Laws, 1991. P. 1187-1244.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

This document deals with the change in legal framework: amalgamation of vocational institutes and CCs with clear differentiation of programs. District collective bargaining. Trained workforce is main attraction for new employers, and with greater minority participation in work force. Funding for institute shall be included in separate allocation to sixth college district and funds allocated for institute shall be used only for purposes of the institute—targeting funding. State wants CCs to be centers for academic training, 2-year institutions, and never considered for conversion to a 4 year.

Codes: WT, R, PA, SI

Name: Chapter 28B.50 community and Technical Colleges. Formerly: Community Colleges. P. 1-29. 1993.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Piece of legislation is a new section that establishes district senates and an advisor council on adult education and literacy. The purpose is to provide administration by state and local boards, which will avoid duplication of facilities and programs. Legislature finds that CCs in the Seattle area provide social and civic benefits to people. Educators, business and community-based organizations can provide help to disadvantaged. State Board consists of nine members who represent geographic diversity appointed by the Governor with consent of senate. At least two will reside east of the Cascade Mountains. Board of Trustees may create faculty senate or similar organization.

Codes: SI, WT

Name: Chapter 28B.52. Collective Bargaining-Academic Personnel in Community Colleges, 1993.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Document stresses increasing state control regarding fiscal matters. State control of salaries is noted. Strikes and lockouts are prohibited--law enacted in 1991.

Codes: SI

Name: Chapter 28B.0. Higher Education Coordinating Board, 1995.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Details the creation of a state coordinating body—a paradox: policy for greater local flexibility and establishment of coordinating body at state level. Policy on international education is garnering increased attention. Board is to identify a method to reduce administrative barriers to efficient institutional operations. There is greater flexibility at the local level, which is not consistent with other actions as the purpose of the board is to provide planning, coordination, monitoring, and policy analysis for higher education in Washington in cooperation & consultation with institutions' governing boards.

Codes: SI, LPS, I, P/E

Name: Chapter 28B.15. College and University Fees, 1993.
Type: Legislation

Source: Government

Legislation of tuition fee policy: state directed. Noted free tuition for long term unemployed but on a space available policy. The governing board of community colleges may waive tuition and other fees for different students. Each institution may waive whole or part of tuition, services, and activities fee for Washington residents 60 years and older, some foreign students, and state employees.

Codes: SI, WT

Name: Chapter 28.B.10. Colleges and Universities Generally, 1993.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

This document focuses upon P/E. Government mandated curriculum: all teachers' colleges and teachers' courses in all institutions must require one quarter of Washington state history. The legislature intends for CCs to grant professional leaves to faculty and exempt staff for purposes of study, research and creative activities for enhancement of institution's instructional and research program.

Codes: P/E. SI

Name: The Challenge for Higher Education. 1996 State of Washington Master Plan for Education. Higher Education Coordinating Board, 1996.
Type: Government policy
Source: Government affiliate

Presses for greater productivity and quality through greater efficiencies, use of ET, private sector partnerships. Decreasing state funds over time. "Improve productivity" mentioned numerous times throughout document. Saving of funds is the driver of the push for increased productivity. The H ED board challenges institutions to increase proportion of CC students who are prepared to continue at baccalaureate level. Also, "high skills=high wages" for students and more state tuition revenues if student continues on. Notes changing demographics.

Codes: P/E, SI, WT

Name: Workforce Training: Supply, Demand, and Gaps. Workforce Training and Education Board ,1996.
Type: Study or plan
Source: Government affiliate

Productivity requested. Job training needed at higher level. Policy for CCs to expand WF training (2% a year). Notes that there is a need to increase efficiency at community and tech colleges through distance learning, work-based learning, improved counseling, competency-based admission & instruction, and improved student services. Appears that there are more jobs than graduates in the market. Private sector not using CCs: only 10% of employers contract with CCs or tech colleges to continue education or training of current workers.

Codes: P/E, SI, WT

Name: Final Report, Governor's Council on School-to-Work Transition, 1995.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Document advocates for seamless education policy. Need to raise standards. Need for H ED to adapt to global economy. Workforce training and school-to-work program will receive funds from state. The new economic and demographics need to be considered.

Codes: P/E, WT, I

Name: high Skills, High Wages: Washington's comprehensive Plan for Workforce Training and Education. 1995 Progress report. Workforce Training and Education Coordinating Board, Olympia, WA, 1995.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Calls for workforce training. Plan outlines eleven most urgently needed actions and a number of recommendations that must be met. Federal funding is allocated for this plan. Implementation of statewide STWT system called for under urgently needed action CCs is to be one stop career centers. Private sector involved in Tech Prep program. Partnerships featured.

Codes: WT, SI, PA

Fugitive Documents of the 1990s

Name: Washington State Workforce Training and Education Coordinating Board. Background on Washington's School-to-Work Transition Initiative, Olympia, WA
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

State intervention oriented document. Details the operations and actions of the School-to-Work Transition Program, which started in 1993/94 and received $4.3 million in 1995. Governor has task force to oversee its implementation. The idea is that there is a lack of skilled people in job market and skilled workers are needed to support the economy. School-to Work Transition program also reaches to high school levels. Partnerships are featured as well. Agency and partner organization in occupational health and safety standards noted. Manufacturing Technology Advisory Group develops and promotes a manufacturing technology education program that begins in high school and leads to an Associate of Arts degree at community colleges and technical schools.

Codes: SI, PA, WT

Jurisdiction: U.S. Federal Government

Summary

Policy documents are oriented in two directions: to improve the unfavorable workforce productivity of the U.S. and to up-grade the workforce and potential workers to remove burden on employers and government. The goals are to increase skills and to ensure greater individual self-sufficiency, that is improve workers skills and remove the unemployed from welfare. There is considerable emphasis upon high technology and advanced manufacturing skills as well as basic skills and literacy. There is some dispute over not only problems but also solutions, likely as there are differing assumptions about national competitiveness: high skills and high wages as opposed to some skills and low wages.

Federal policy documents are almost singly focused upon workforce training. The community college is viewed as a principal deliverer of workforce training and employment up-grading.

Prevailing themes by category

- workforce training: over-riding category for all federal documents; emphasis upon U.S. competitiveness and the suggestion that productivity of U.S. workforce has declined; important role of post secondary education, especially the community college in providing training; training largely conceived of as skills development, but includes literacy, basic education, along with high-tech training in specialized fields; some reference to underrepresented groups (American Indians and Native Hawaiians), to migrant workers, to those already in workforce who need up-grading; suggestion that organization and management of vocational education are inadequate, that program quality is sub-standard, and that outcomes, such as job placement, are poor; targeting federal dollars to the states for reform of vocational education, for workforce training

Policy direction (promotion, support, report, legislation)

The major emphasis is upon meeting national economic needs, especially national competitiveness within a global economy. Furthermore, the implication is that welfare and unemployment are detracting from national productivity and a burden on federal expenditures. Post secondary education, especially community college education, is directed to improve workforce training, to assist employers in filling jobs, to support the economic competitiveness of business and industry, and to help the lower socio-economic strata either find jobs or improve productivity within their jobs. Federal dollars will be used to improve vocational education and workforce training, with the community college as a major beneficiary of federal largesse.

Important documents:

- Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act, as amended through July 1995. (1995). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Education. (1994). National assessment of vocational education. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education Research and Improvement.
- Workforce and Career Development Act of 1996. (1996). Conference Report, H.R. 104-707, 104th Congress, 2nd session.
- Commission on Workforce and Community Development. (1996). Responding to the challenges on workforce and economic development: The role of America's community colleges. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community

Colleges. [this is a non-government organization and does not constitute government policy, but rather part of the policy community]

Government documents:

Name: Responding to the Challenges of Workforce and Economic Development: The Role of America's Community Colleges. Commission on Workforce and Community Development, American Association of Community Colleges. Philip R. Day, Jr., Chairman, May 1996 (last posted November 1, 1996).
Type: Report
Source: Non-government body

Document promotes leadership role of ccs in workplace training to enhance U.S. competitiveness. Connection between community colleges (CCs) and business/industry. Highly skilled workforce needed to support national economic development. CCs can be key player in U.S. competitiveness as they often work closely with business. Reduction of government is mentioned; yet, CCs are said to be adjusting to meet market (hence, national competitiveness) needs.

Codes: WT, C, PA

Name: Workforce and Career Development Act of 1996. Conference Report H.R. 104-107, 104 Congress 2nd session, 1996.
Type: Legislation
Source: Federal government

Legislation is all workforce training (WT) oriented. Provisions, directives, and evaluation for WT programs at state level. One stop career centers for economically and employment vulnerable such as Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, and migrant workers. Focus is on adult education and literacy. Calls for a collaborative process for development of the state plan including businesses and industry, local education agencies, post secondary institutions, parents and employees.

Codes: WT, PA, MKT

Name: National assessment of vocational education: final report to Congress, volume II., Office of education Research and Improvement. U.S. Department of Education, 1994, Washington D.C. Boesel, D., Hudson, L., Deich, S., Masten, C.
Type: Report
Source: Government body (commissioned by government)

Document reports the increasing importance of CC in workforce development. Issues of national competitiveness. Need to improve effectiveness of vocational education and management of vocational education. Factors associated with better employment and earnings outcomes are outlined.

Codes: WT

Name: National assessment of vocational education: final report to Congress, volume I, Office of education Research and Improvement U.S. Department of Education, Washington D.C. Boesel David, and McFarland, Laurel. 1994.
Type: Report (commissioned research)
Source: Government department

This document is federally commissioned research. Calls for vocational education to respond to employers' requirements to push for comprehensive system of work prep. Report shows a need to improve outcomes, and improve organization and management. Calls for "high skill and high wage" workforce as goal. Reports the increased needs for those with postsecondary education and most for those with vocational post-sec are found in ccs. New model for vocational ed. is to develop cognitive skills; school-to-work transition reforms, and general workforce preparation, as required part of each industry major or prerequisite for all.

Codes: WT, C, MKT

Name: Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act as amended through July 1995. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1995.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Underlying theme of document is workforce training and competitiveness. The purpose of the act is stated to make the U.S. more competitive in world economy by developing, more fully, the academic and occupational skills of all segments of the population. This purpose will be achieved by concentrating resources to improve education programs leading to academic and occupational skill competencies needed to work in a technologically advanced society. State planning, assessment, appropriations and a council of vocational education are outlined. More state intervention is evident. Details of how state funds are to be used are outlined. Tech-prep education is featured.

Codes: SI, C, WT

Name: Goals 2000: Educate America Act of 1993. Department of Education (DOE)
Type: Policy
Source: Government department

This document is a collection of press releases issued by the DOE in 1993 and 1994 that explain and promote the act. The purpose of the act is to "encourage and support grassroots, community-wide efforts to reach the national education goals" of creating an education system that will produce workers able to compete successfully in the international job market. It is based upon the idea the U.S. students do not measure up to international education standards and the assumption that this is due mostly to lack of high, clearly stated educational and occupational standards in the U.S. Goals 2000 are detailed. Global competition is a driver aimed at the educational system. State calls for high skilled and high waged workforce.

Codes: WT, SI, C

Name: Education and Training for America's Future. The Manufacturing Institute, Washington D.C. Carnevale, A. 1998.
Type: Policy proposal.
Source: Private body

The document emphasizes changing workforce needs and skills that are needed for productive workforce. More education in the workforce leads to higher rates of participation in high performance work places, which leads to more training on the job. Proposes that to increase efficiency and effectiveness of public training programs by consolidation. Statistics re: benefits of more education upon individual and market place are provided. Workforce oriented, but partnerships with industry are noted.

Codes: WT, P/E, PA, MKT

Name: Workforce and Career Development Act of 1996. Report 104-107. July 25, 1996.
Type: Report of legislation
Source: Federal government

This is a report of legislation. References to WT incentives to state from U.S. Federal government. Calls for improved skills and meeting employers' needs for competitiveness. The "purpose" of the act is to transform the array of Federal education, employment, and job training programs from a collection of fragmented and duplicative categorical programs into stream lined, coherent, and accountable statewide system designed to develop more fully the academic, occupation, and literacy skills of all segments of the population of the U.S. and to meet the needs of employers. Describes how funds will be allotted to states starting in 1998: 32% used for employment and training activities; 16% for at-risk youth activities; 26% for vocational education activities; 6% for adult education and literacy activities; and 20% for flexible activities. State intervention in using education to further each state's economic goals.

Codes: SI, WT, C, MKT

Name: Advanced Technological Education Program: 1996 Awards and Activities. National Science Foundation, January 1997.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

Emphasizes U.S. competitiveness through CC in high tech training. The document contains abstracts of the U.S. community and technical college award-winning projects for 1996. All abstracts reflect partnerships and articulation agreements with other educational institutions and with employers. All emphasize broad sharing and dissemination of information about their projects. Most projects advocate and have implemented changes in curricula and teaching methods to develop a globally competitive workforce. The following areas are represented in order of frequency: engineering information systems, electronics and telecommunications, and computer and information technology.

Codes: P/E, C, WT, ET, PA.

Name: Workforce, Economic, and Community Development: The Changing Landscape or the Entrepreneurial Community College. Grubb, N., Badway, N., Bell, D., Bragg, D, and Russman, M. (1997). A joint publication of the League for Innovation in the Community College, the National Center for Research in Vocational Education and the National Council of Occupational Education.
Type: Report (research)
Source: Non-government body

The document examines the expanded community college role as a community-serving organization in response to changes in its market. Specifically, the college's role in workforce development, economic development and community development is seen as resulting in a "shadow college," labeled the "entrepreneurial college" due to its entrepreneurial spirit, market-oriented drive and responsiveness to outside institutions. The study concludes that the entrepreneurial college can provide considerable benefit to the community. Recommendations are made to integrate this college with the regular college to prevent fragmentation, to improve funding from and accountability to the state and to conduct further research to improve the effectiveness of the entrepreneurial college. Document aligns cc with private sector as an instrument of the marketplace. It is a divided study: promotional and yet an analytical and critical research document.

Codes: MKT, PR, C, PA, R, SI

Name: Meeting Corporate Education and Training Needs: Developing a Community College Investment Program. Judith S. Eaton, 1995, Council for Aid to Education.
Type: Policy proposal
Source: Non-government body

Document promotes corporate sector support for CCs to bolster WT. Corporations are questioning the effectiveness and quality of the training and education being provided. Globalization is providing pressure to education and the training of unskilled workers. Corporate sector expectations outlined. Corporate financial support is higher for 4 year institutions than CCs. Statistics show where corporate dollars are going. Corporate strategies to meet workforce needs are outlined.

Codes: PA, PR, WT, R

Name: Community college students and federal student financial aid: A policy framework for the next administration. David Baime, Director of Government Relations, American Association of Community Colleges. White Paper, July 10, 1996.
Type: Report
Source: Non-government body

Document discusses the implementation of federal student financial aid programs as efficient means to gain job skills. There is a growing disparity in college completion rates between higher and lower income students due to decline in federal student financial aid. Official recognition of the "non traditional student" as the new norm. Discusses partnerships that help keep tuition low. Restructuring: AACC priorities for re-authorization of the Higher Education Act are outlined. State intervention re: grants, financial aid programs and federal college work study and federal supplemental opportunity grants.

Codes: SI, R, PA, WT

Name: U.S. Federal Legislation: Higher Education Act of 1965, Title III. Part A, Strengthening Institutions.
Type: Legislation
Source: Federal government

Federal priorities emphasize student need and minorities. Collaboration promoted for institutional self-sufficiency. P/E is highlighted. 5-year grant awarded to implement activities that will strengthen institution, e.g., faculty development, admin. funds management, development and improvement of academic programs, acquisition of equipment for use in strengthening funds management and academic programs. Applications must specify measurable goals for financial management and academic programs; continuation depends on demonstrable progress toward goal achievement.

Codes: WT, P/E/ PA, LPS

Name: U.S. Federal Legislation: Higher Education Act of 1965, Title IV, Part A: Grants to students in attendance at institutions of higher education. November 1996.
Type: Legislation
Source: Federal government

Legislation encourages postsecondary education by providing grants for basic education opportunity, supplemental grants to students in need of financial assistance, special programs for disadvantaged and assistance to higher education institutions.
Codes: SI, WT

Name: America's HOPE scholarships: A tax cut to make 14 years of education the standard for all. White House Dispatch, June 4, 1996.
Type: Federal policy
Source: White House, executive branch of government

Describes the specifics of the HOPE scholarships, tax deductions for all education and training, increase Pell Grants for lower income students. Idea is to facilitate education through Direct Student Loan Program, direct loans with "pay as you can" option.

Codes: SI, WT

Name: Educating Americans for a World in Flux: Ten ground rules for internationalizing Higher education. American Council on Education, 1995.
Type: Proposal

Source: Non-government body

Ideas range from requiring teachers to know a foreign language to building consortia-like centers of excellence. Restructuring to support international curriculum. Other proposals for change in student requirements: foreign language, intercultural understanding, understanding global systems.

Codes: I, PA, R

Name: The 1992-2005 job outlook in brief. Occupational outlook quarterly, Spring, 1994. V. 32, No. 1. Gradler, G.E., and Schrammel, K.E.
Type: Research report
Source: Private body

Data in this brief come from the moderate growth scenario (3 sets were considered). Projections based on info. about demand and goods and services, tech advances, changes in business practices. Looks at 12 clusters of occupation and gives numerical and % change in employment. Results: in agriculture; little or no growth; average growth for business and administrative positions. Increase in production occupations; increase jobs requiring tech skills; professional specialties will grow; marketing and sales will grow. Service will grow; decline in clerical jobs; average growth for mechanics and installers. Decline in manufacturing employment. Transportation and material occupations will decline overall but with some growth for transportation services (e.g., bus drivers). Average growth for handlers and equipment cleaners. Overall perspective of the changes in the economy and employment figures provided.

Codes: MRT, P/E

Name: Job Training Partnership Act as Amended: Public Law 102-367, 1992. Employment and Training Administration, US Department of Labor.
Type: Federal legislation
Source: Government department

Funded program. WT oriented. Idea is to increase national productivity. Purpose of Act is to help those who are not being hired by providing training and other services that will result in increased employment and earnings, educational and occupational skills and decreased dependency on welfare. Document discusses the requirements of job training plans. Outlines the establishment of Private Industry Council's foundational structure.

Codes: WT, C, SI

Name: American Association of Community Colleges: Legislative Update, November 13, 1997.
Type: Review of legislation
Source: Non-government body

Provides a review of the piece of legislation and includes proposal oriented to WT. State intervention is present to maintain funding. The document. reviews fiscal year 1998 legislation in areas of budget and appropriations, reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, student financial issues, role of community colleges in welfare to work programs. More support is evident for student financial assistance and for advanced tech training through NSF. Emphasis on consolidation and streamlining workforce training and related services and transfers of these to the states.

Codes: WT, C, SI, P/E

Name: Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act Amendments of 1990. Pub. L. 101-392, 104 stat. 753, 1990.
Type: Federal legislation
Source: Government

This document. is all about workforce training. Increased incentives by Fed government for WT areas: Community Education employment centers, Lighthouse Schools (to serve as models of vocational education programs--provide career guidance); tribal vocational institutions; demo centers; professional development (grants to institutions of HE to support those going into voc. ed. as a career). Partnership with business and education, industry and labor, community and government agencies. Leadership and instruction programs in technology education included. Document. about making U.S. employee pool competent so U.S. can compete in market.

Codes: WT, C

Name: Small business protection act of 1996. Pub L. No. 104-188, 104 stat. 1755, 1996.
Type: Federal legislation
Source: Government

Document promotes workforce training through state intervention. Small businesses will receive a tax relief to protect jobs and create opportunities for more workers, and increase take-home pay. Qualified state tuition program also mentioned.

Codes: WT, SI

Name: Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act 1996. Pub. : No. 104-193, 110 Stat. 2105, 1996.
Type: Federal legislation
Source: Government

Idea of legislation is greater state flexibility in directing workforce training. Outlines how grant money can be used, the purpose of block grants. Purpose is for temporary assistance to help federal government end dependence of parents on government benefits. Grants may be used to make payments or provide job placement; vouchers to approved public and private placement agencies. States are eligible to carry out employment initiatives in no fewer than 50% of households in state, which also received other benefits.

Codes: SI, WT

Name: Omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act, Pub. L. No 104-208, 110 Stat. 3009, 1996.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Appropriations bill for a variety of education and training activities. Monies can be used to continue Job Training Partnership Act including purchase of real property for training centers. Other purposes detailed. Outlines stipulations of groups that can utilize funds. Special Tech fund for expenses necessary to enable U.S. Information Agency to provide for procurement of info tech improvement. SI oriented in how funds are to be used.

Codes: SI, ET, PR, WT

Name: National Council for Occupational Education and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges. (1990). Productive America: two-year colleges unite to improve productivity in the nations workforce: Reports 1 and 2. U.S. Dept. of Labor, Washington DC.
Type: Report
Source: Government department

This is a commissioned research/report. WT and retraining are major items, and include training of special populations. Observes decreasing productivity of work force. U.S. competitiveness is at stake. Community colleges as the salvation with a critical role. Although a crucial player in the scenario, cc areas of improvement are outlined. Stats. and estimations re: future employment needs and how CCs can fulfill the need. Partnerships with business are encouraged. Reports on the success of certain partnerships. WT oriented.

Codes: WT, PA, PR

Name: Directorate for Education and Human Resources. (1997). Advanced technology education 1996 awards and activities. National Science Foundation: Washington, DC.
Type: Policy proposal
Source: Government affiliate

All WT--awards and activities focus upon high tech and advanced manufacturing. Promotional and implications for policy. Discusses program impacts and improvements in education. Curriculum reform key in meeting U.S. need for more technology employees. Private partnerships are required for ATE funded centers and projects--industry involvement important. Focus of ATE program has been developing partnerships among groups with 2-year colleges in leadership roles.

Codes: WT, ET

Name: Education for What? The new office economy. Executive Summary. Education Testing Service. Washington D.C., Carnevale, A., & Rose, S., 1998.
Type: Report
Source: Private body

Document indicates that office workers and professionals dominate economy and will continue. Challenge is need for higher technological workforce. Reports importance of higher education, especially higher level degrees. Notion of competition in new economy is broken down and described. Report discusses statistics. re: level of education in U.S. WT oriented. Looks to future and predicts need for more office workers.

Codes: WT

Jurisdiction: State of Hawaii

Summary

The economy, highly influenced by international trade and tourism, is the dominant issue in state documents. As a branch of government, the University of Hawaii and the University of Hawaii's community colleges are both recipients of the economic woes of the state and vehicles to assist the state in coping with and reforming the economy. The University of Hawaii system offers strategies and plans to maintain programs and to expand facilities and higher education access. There is some tension between the demands of the university system's governing board and the legislature, particularly over funding.

Prevailing themes by category

- Less public sector funding: the state indicates that the economic performance of the state requires decreasing allocation to higher education; the university system acknowledges the condition of fewer state funds for higher education
- workforce training: considerable emphasis in the state to prepare students for the workforce, especially in community colleges; applied degrees that are 3-4 years duration are considered in 1992 and 1993, and numerous new programs suitable for a changing economy are initiated in the 1990s; underlying emphasis is to bolster economy with a trained workforce
- restructuring: includes economy, training and higher education, all to improve economic outlook of the state and to cope with declining state revenues
- productivity/efficiency: to cope with declining resources; restructuring of higher education
- marketplace: efforts and proposals to gear higher education to state's economy and toward the private sector, including Asia Pacific countries

Policy direction (promotion, support, report, legislation)

University and community colleges directed to be responsive to state's economy and economic reform. With acknowledgement of declining state funds for higher education, the university system is compelled to seek alternate funding sources and to seek operating efficiencies. But the university system promotes quality in opposition to efficiency. Tuition is raised within the system; programs and personnel are cut; attractive retirement incentives are offered; and credit programs are moved to non-credit, to save and to make money. Use of distance education to preserve and widen access and also to attract international students.

The analysis of Hawaii's state documents is subject to the interpretation that the University of Hawaii's Board of Regents has, since the university's origin, had full authority to direct and control all functions of the University of Hawaii system as stated in Hawaii Revised Statute sections 304-1, 304-3. Hawaii is an exception among the jurisdictions in this investigation as the Board of Regents is acting as a state body and the university system including community colleges falls under their power. In 1964, the Hawaii State Legislators passed the Community Colleges Act (Act 39), which directed the University of Hawaii Board of Regents to develop and administer a system of community colleges. The law provided for the transfer of Honolulu, Kapi'olani, Kauai, and Maui technical schools from the State Department of Education to the University of Hawaii. On July 1, 1996, the Board of Regents approved the name "technical school" be changed to "community college." Section 44 of Act 39 articulates that community colleges are subject to the Board of Regents authority just as is the 4-year institution.

Important documents

- University of Hawaii Community College 1990-95 Annual Reports, Office of the Chancellor for Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
- University of Hawaii Community Colleges Strategic Plan 1997-2007. Approved by the Board of Regents 1997. Office of Senior Vice President and Chancellor University of Hawaii Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.

Name: University of Hawaii tuition: Background, analyses and proposal. Memorandum From the President, University of Hawaii and Chancellor, University of Hawaii at Manoa. September 5, 1995. Kenneth Mortimer.
Type: Government affiliate report
Source: State system head

This document references declining state funds for higher education and tuition increases. Utilizing resources in most efficient manner is mandatory through program evaluation, assessment and budgeting process. " Acting as a system" philosophy is noted as a possible means of achieving unity across the UH system re: tuition. University has experienced an increased enrollment while federal funds are decreasing. Future could hold significant cuts in financial aid. Reviews statutes re: undergraduate tuition. In other categories, the effect of higher tuition upon the lower income students is greater than the effects upon middle income students. These students require more need-based student aid. Real tuition increases are predicted to affect enrollment negatively.

Codes: LPS, R, SI

Name: University of Hawaii Community Colleges, Office of the Chancellor for Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
Type: Prospectus
Source: Government affiliate

This document is a piece of literature used to describe the various colleges, much like what one would receive when shopping for post secondary education options. The document explains the various degrees that one can obtain in the Hawaii CC system as well as each colleges' specialty areas. The main points include diversity in students and programs; technology used for distance education and upgrading facilities; partnerships with businesses and government bodies (Dept. of Labor and Industrial Relations); responsiveness to market and students (re)training needs. The idea of promoting economic development opportunities whenever possible was stressed as well as an international focus with study abroad programs and diverse student population.

Codes: WT, PA

Name: University of Hawaii Community Colleges (newsletter), v. 34 no. 2, March 1999. Office of the Chancellor for Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

This newsletter celebrated its 35th issue by providing an historical perspective of the colleges and their origins, changes and developments since 1946. There is much rhetoric re: the reputation of the colleges. Author details the desire to be proactive in establishing partnerships with the legislature and businesses to promote economic development. Solution 2000 and Partners for Life are examples. Briefs on new program developments and facilities are provided.

Codes: WT, PR

Name: University of Hawaii Community College 1990-91 Annual Report, Office of the Chancellor for Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
Type: Report
Source Government affiliate

This covers academic year 1990-91 (September, 3, 1990 to May 28, 1991) and fiscal year 1990-1991 (July 1, 1990 to June 30, 1991). The document reports the year in review. There is a system-wide emphasis of looking beyond access to retention and success of students. Interpretation of changes in federal laws re: vocational ed.--a program that received funding for building renovation. Expansion and assessment of institutional research and staff development make up the bulk of challenges for the next year. International education is featured. The focus for the year includes: 1) concentration on vocational ed., non-credit ed. and transfer functions; 2) hone administration's management skills; 3) support community service; 4) promote scholarship 5) reclassify employee and faculty salaries; 6) improve public relations. The concept of growth is most striking. An overview of each program offered (24,000 Hawaiians enrolled in credit program and 124,000 enrolled in non-credit courses). Breakdowns by enrollment by UH institutions; lower division enrollment in arts and sciences, and general ed. program. Tuition for residents increased $30 and $170 for non-residents. There was also a breakdown of the general fund allocation: instruction =1; public service=2; and academic support=3. Each college was described in detail with demographics of students for all colleges as a whole. Looking ahead: educational effectiveness (technology plays a role); student and community concerns; and organizational development. Funding decrease brings concern re: the ability to keep faculty and accountability to society.

Codes: P/E, WT

Name: University of Hawaii Community Colleges 1991-92 Annual Report. Office of the Chancellor of Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

This document covers the academic year 1991-92 (September 1991-May 1992) and fiscal year 1991-92 (July 1, 1991-June 30, 1992). This document places an emphasis on undergraduate education, improved access to educational opportunities and expanding international role of higher education. Outreach efforts include class instruction via cable television education channels. Six of the eight colleges offer this type of instruction. The Institutional Research program includes three areas: 1) executive decision support systems; 2) student tracking system; and 3) the program health evaluation system. The colleges endeavor to strengthen their ties with K-12. The Tech-prep program helps those high school students who do not plan to go on to a 4 year program, it is an alternative to "college prep." Focus is upon economic development and meeting community needs. After the closing of the Dole pineapple plantation, the CC system trained displaced workers for the tourism industry: a program supported by the Department of Labor of Industrial Relations, state employment Service, the U.S. Dept. of Education and the Dole Company.

Codes: WT, PA, MKT, LPS, I

Name: University of Hawaii Community Colleges 1992-93 Annual Report. Office of the Chancellor of Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

The report deals with many of the same issues as 90'91' report. There is a growth in enrollment: 14%, 11% and 9% at three of the colleges. Enrollment increased from 22,000 in 1988 to 26,000 in 1992. As enrollment figures increase, public funds are decreasing. The colleges are feeling the crunch, now a nation-wide trend. "Doing more with less" has become a daily motto. Partnerships are prevalent: almost all colleges have one or more types of partnership with either the government or private sector. The Regents demanded a comparative assessment evaluation of programs and services based on 3 criteria: efficiency, effectiveness, and centrality to mission. The results provided a rational for resource allocation and program planning. Hurricane Iniki devastated Kauai and Kauai CC helped and served community through aid and eventually re-trained 430 displaced workers. College system received $60,000 from Department of Labor and Industrial Relations to develop Hawaii's first training program in Programmable Logic Controllers (PLC). The PLC is intended to keep Hawaii's businesses up to date technologically.

Codes: WT, PA, LPS, ET

Name: The University of Hawaii Community Colleges Annual Report 1993-94 The Office of the Chancellor for Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

This document covers the academic and fiscal years 1993-94. Specific dates not given. Again, the system faces less public sector funding and increasing enrollment numbers. In order to meet the demand, HITS has been utilized (Hawaii Interactive Television System) HITS offers credit classes via cable television. Meeting the needs of the workplace is another important issue for the CCs: they have begun "chunking" the curriculum, that is, conversion of credit classes into a series of non-credit models, which allows student workers to fulfill requirements without taking time off from work. In addition, students can complete program requirements by demonstrating competency in certain skills as opposed to completing the traditional course work. The cc system aims to meet the needs of the community. The 10 year old Kulani Prison Education Center trains inmates with practical skills to help their transition when released. In addition, programs that help those who need extra help to succeed in college such as JOBS and Upward Bound are featured. These initiatives exhibit entrapreneurial behavior. Tourism and economic development are also a key issue. The system worked with the State Tourism Training Council to develop a certification program for tour guides. Other related outgrowths are the Marine Education Training Center and Airport Training Center, as well as other partnerships with state agencies. As environmental technology is a growth area in the market, Honolulu CC offered a program in 1992 and recently added 10 more classes. Private support for higher education increased 46% over 1992-93.

Codes: LPS, MKT, WT, PA

Name: Facing the future: On the edge of a new millennium. University of Hawaii Community Colleges Annual Report 1994-1995. Office of the Chancellor for Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
Type: Report
Source: government affiliate

Emphasis on future and preparing for change. Fiscal resources for system are dependent upon the state's economy. This document is clearly oriented toward ensuring that campuses are technologically wired and geared toward working with the private sector. Unlike the earlier reports, there is emphasis upon partnerships and entrapraneurial spirit. Administrators are forced to upgrade their management skills and familiarize themselves with the marketplace. In order to prepare for the changes, the colleges are customizing their programs to meet community needs. As the state is moving from an agricultural economy, many workers need training. Higher education is seen as a means to strengthen the economy. Emphasis is upon tourism, working with high school students for CC prep, distance ed. internationalism and convenience for student (modules and semesters). Pressures to use more technology; flexibility in how they offer instruction; partnerships with businesses to help the growth and process of change. Overall, the document indicates that the system is trying to prepare for change and stay current in technological infrastructure.

Codes: ET, SI, WT, PA

Name: University of Hawaii Community Colleges Strategic Plan 1997-2007. Approved by the Board of Regents 1997. Office of Senior Vice President and Chancellor University of Hawaii Community Colleges. Honolulu, HI.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

The document describes system's current situation and how it can reach its goals as follows: 1) provide access to quality education and service to the state; 2) implement differentiated campus missions and function as a system; 3) continue to champion diversity and respect for difference; 4) strengthen the university as the premier resource in Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Affairs, and advancing its international leadership role; and 5) acquire and manage resources with accountability and responsiveness. The plan emphasizes increasing enrollments, and less public funding along with other changes facing most universities today. Much emphasis is placed upon effectiveness rather than efficiency. Providing a quality education is of concern. The purpose of the CCs is clearly to support and hopefully build the Hawaiian economy. Ideas in restructuring include: increase drop fees, shift remedial English and math to non-credit classes along with adult education; restrict enrollment in Liberal arts; decrease course offerings to core requirements; drop those classes with low enrollment; and decrease faculty in low demand programs. The idea is to streamline, restructure but the means are mostly internal. Little is said about aligning with business to garner funds and nothing is said of how resources are to be accounted for (goal #5). Little is provided regarding the budget or other financial information. The idea of providing quality education and dropping electives does not make sense. The plan focuses inward to restructure rather than expand to grow and obtain funds.

Codes: R, WT, P/E

Name: University of Hawaii Executive Policy-Administration. March 1983. Revised March 1995. Prepared by the Office of the Senior Vice President for Administration. E9.204
Type: Policy
Source: Government affiliate

Document discusses E9.204, the Incentive for Early Retirement initiative. This policy implements section 9-13 f, Incentive Early Retirement, of the Board of Regents' Bylaws and Policies and provides the guidelines necessary for administrators to consider, review and process, agreements to participate in the Incentive Early Retirement Program. Objective is to establish system-wide guidelines to administer the program. Guidelines include: participation in the University IER program is voluntary; the IER plan contracted between the university and its employees will vary among individuals. Idea is to have as many willing employees retire to downsize gracefully.

Codes: LPS

Name University of Hawaii Executive Policy-Administration. March 1997. Prepared by the Office of the Vice President for Planning and Policy. Replaces E4.201 dated July 1985.
Type: Policy
Source: Government affiliate

This revised policy replaced E4.201. It directs implementation of Board of Regents Policy, Section 4-3 by establishing policy statements on 1) the purposes of university planning; 2) the planning concepts and processes that provide the foundation for University of Hawaii planning; 3) the major components of long-range planning at the University; 4) assessment and evaluation activities; 5) lead responsibility for planning implementation; and 6) the planning calendar. Policy statements: Board of Regents is committed to planning that addresses current and long-term issues. Policy results are considered and reflected as appropriate in budget priorities; responsiveness to significant local, regional, national, and global trends and needs; one planning process will not fit all and decentralized implementation within common parameters is recommended. The major planning components include: mission statement, system plan, unit academic plans, submission of academic plans, program plans, facilities development plans, board and executive policies, administrative procedures, contractual language, and federal compliance requirements, as well as biennium priorities. Assessment and evaluation activities include: budget hearings, benchmarks/performance indicators, program reviews, accreditation self-studies, and management and planning information reports and survey results. These are the university's major planning guidelines. Guidelines for formatting unit academic plans is attached as well as a chart of the status of academic educational development plans previously approved by the Board of Regents.

Codes: P/E, MKT

Name: University of Hawaii Executive Policy-Delegation of Authority. July, 1994. Prepared by the Office of the Senior Vice President for Administration.
Type: Policy
Source: Government affiliate

This document discusses E8.105, which notes the authority to execute contractual documents for procuring goods and services granting concessions on University property and entering into cooperative agreements. Source of delegation: Section 103.D-208, 103D-306, 103-307, Hawaii Revised Statues and Subchapter 3, Chapters 121, Subtitle II, Title 3, Hawaii Administrative rules. Authority is delegated to Senior Vice President for Administration and his/her designees to carry out the responsibilities and perform the functions of the Chief Procurement Officer of the University as mandated in Chapter 103D. As CC system is part of University system, this policy applies to community colleges as well.

Codes: P/E, SI

Name: Executive Memorandum NO. 99-1. April 6, 1996. President, University of Hawaii and Chancellor, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

The subject of the memo is the promulgation of updated tuition schedules. They are replaced with the following documents: 1) Full-time, Continuing Education and Community Service, Summer Session, and Apprentice and Journey Worker Tuition Schedules and 2) Executive Policy E6.201, Per-Credit-hour Tuition Schedule. The tuition schedules reflect the following Board of Regents' Actions: 1/23/97 (law school); 2/20/98 (undergraduate and graduate); 3/19/99(graduating nursing and medicine); the community college non-resident rate that now applies due to the passage of Act 115 and the directive approved by the Board on 5/22/98 that established how official BOR tuition rates apply to credit courses offered by the UHM Outreach college. For all CCs the 1996-2000 resident and non-resident tuition rates are $516 and $2904 respectively. Their Summer Session resident and non resident for 1996 are $87 and $130 and for summer of 2000 are $93 and $130.

Codes: LPS

Name: A8.200 Procurement. (November 1995). Prepared by the Office of Procurement and Risk Management.

Type: Policy
Source: Government body

This document replaces Administrative Procedure Nos. A8.200 dated July 1982 and A8.230 dated October 1983. The purpose of the policy is to delineate the authority and responsibilities of university personnel involved in the acquisition of goods, services, and construction, as well as granting of concessions and negotiation of cooperative agreements and establish uniform procedures governing time. Objectives include insurance compliance with State and Federal laws, rules and regulations, as well as Board of Regents' policies.

Codes: PA, P/E

Name: Administrative Procedures Memorandum NO. 97-4. Aril 14, 1997. Senior President for Administration, The University of Hawaii.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

Documents describes the abolished, amended, and new procedures of administrative procedures. Those abolished procedures include: code of ethics, processing of requests for variances, collective bargaining and BOR personnel policies and procedures on college work-study programs. Amended policies include: collective bargaining in public employment; salary schedules for faculty personnel; flexible working hours for civil services employees and workforce reduction for civil service employees, among others. It appears that the changes are taking place as a course of a typical system. There does appear to be some indication that the market is affecting some policy amendments.

Codes: LPS, MKT

Name: Hawaii Administrative Rules Title 3 Department of Accounting and General Services Subtitle 11 Procurement Policy Board Chapter 128 Government Relations and Cooperative Purchasing.
Type: Policy
Source: Government

Document includes definitions, cooperative purchasing subject to chapter 13D, HRS; cooperative purchasing agreements; public notice for cooperative purchasing agreements between public procurement units and external procurement units and external procurement; cooperative purchasing agreements between public procurement units and non profit private procurement; supply of personnel, information and technical services; procurement of goods produced or services performed by governmental institutions; compliance with a federal requirement. Indicative of partnerships.

Codes: PA, P/E

Name: University of Hawaii Report to the 1993 Legislature. HCR 306 and HB 2454, Section 123, (Act 300, SLH 1992). December 1992.

Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

This is a reply to the Legislature's request of Hawaii Community College to provide nursing education and training to Emergency Medical Technicians. The document is a clear case of the CCs altering programs and curriculum to meet the needs of the market. The shortage of nurses is a serious issue for the state and thus the legislature requested the CC system to provide programs for Emergency Medical Technicians to obtain the needed credentials to be a practicing nurse. $30,000 is allotted for he development and alteration of the curriculum of their present (1992) programs..

Codes: WT, MKT, SI

Name: University of Hawaii Report to the 1992 Legislature DR94/HCR84, HD1. December 1991.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

This document is a reply to the Legislature's request of University of Hawaii at Manoa to articulate the credit courses required to transfer from the Community College Tourism Training and Tourism Education Programs to the school of Travel and Industry-Management (TIM) at the University of Hawaii-Manoa. The report describes the status of the efforts to improve the transfer of credits between the University of Hawaii Community Colleges and the School at the University of Hawaii. Currently there are no transferable visitor industry courses at the CC or at the School of TIM even though there are areas of commonality in the programs. The University of Nevada at Las Vegas and The University of Johnson and Wales in Rhode Island allow the transfer of the CC tourism related courses. The TIM is based upon more theoretical versus practical courses and thus poses a problem, as CC focus is more vocational. As a result, CCs are working to develop appropriate courses.

Codes: WT, MKT, SI, C

Name: University of Hawaii Report to the 1991 Legislature H.B 2500, Sections 150 and 160A (Act 200, SLH 1990). January 1991.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

This document deals with establishing as Advanced Automotive Technological program at Honolulu Community College. In 1989 and 1990, the Legislature appropriated additional resources to support the establishment of the above mentioned program as it became evident in 1989 that its Automotive Technology Program was not sufficient to address the new generation of automobiles that are more technologically complex. The conclusion came from a group of many, which included industry experts. The program is to develop automotive technicians rather than mechanics. A new 2-year program has been developed, which offers classes on the weekends and nights to accommodate the working student, of which some may be mechanics in need of further training. The program emphasizes the technical basis for the program in requiring certain courses. The class is to be staffed by 2 full-time equivalent advanced technology instructors. Demand is expected to exceed 30 students per year as the market is in need of this type of trained individual.

Codes: WT, MKT, ET

Name: University of Hawaii Report to the 1993 Legislature. SCR 188 (SLH 1991). December 1992.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

This document is a reply to the Legislature's request to evaluate and report on the needs to offer 3 and 4-year degrees in certain applied technological fields. The Legislature notes that the transfer of new developments in science and technology to the marketplace has accelerated considerably over the last ten years, and the impact and magnitude of these developments has had a profound and immediate effect on traditional training and educational programs. Industry recognition of this problem has led to the formation of a number of joint partnerships with educational institutions as characterized by the creation of technology centers (ATCs), which offer technology or industry specific training that comprehensively addresses all training needs from factory floor personnel to management, and that the economic future of Hawaii is dependent upon technology-based industries. The Board of Regents formally recognized Honolulu CC as the lead campus for the development of the program. A collaborative effort of representatives of CCs, Department of Education, and other state agencies evaluated the need to offer such programs. Educational program options that meet workforce needs were a high priority. In 1990, the college was granted approval to offer training in Advanced Automotive Technology: it is a 3rd year of study for students who have not completed the two-year Associate of Science degree in Automotive Mechanics. Other programs that require training beyond two-year groups are Aeronautics Maintenance Technology, Construction Technology, Fire Science and Administration of Justice.

Codes: WT, MKT, SI, ET

Name: Memorandum to The Honorable Benjamin, J. Cayetano, Governor, State of Hawaii, The Honorable Joseph Souki, Speaker of the House, and The Honorable Norman Mizuguchi, President of the Senate. From Kenneth P. Mortimer, President University of Hawaii and Chancellor, University of Hawaii at Manoa. November 16, 1998.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

The subject of the memo is the operating budget requests for the fiscal biennium 1999-2001 as approved by the Board of Regents. The request includes additional state general funds. These request exceed the current funding level established by the Director of Finance but are below the statutory ceiling established by Act 115/1998. Requests are broken down into four categories: Physical Infrastructure Requirements; Academic Infrastructure Requirements; Student Services Infrastructure Requirements; and New or Expanded Instruction and Research Programs. Additional funds are needed for Physical Infrastructure Requirements, Student Service Infrastructure Requirements and New or Expanded Instruction and Research Programs.

Codes: LPS

Name: Board of Regents' Policy Section 5-2, Part g University of Hawaii Centers. Adopted June 21, 1996; amended January 17, 1997; effective July 1, 1997.

The Center allows students who are unable to travel to the UH Campus offering their program to enroll in courses or credential programs that are offered by one or more of the University's accredited institutions. Purpose-is instructional but also serves as site for research and public service programs. Multiple disciplines, course sequences are available, Center offers lower division requirements where community colleges are not present. Delivery strategies include distance educational technology; faculty who travel to the Center from home campus. The university system is responsible for establishing and coordinating overall system policies and practices for the University of Hawaii network of Centers. Includes: University of Hawaii Center, Kauai, Lihue, Kauai; University of Hawaii Center, Maui, Wailuku, Maui; and University of Hawaii Center, West Hawaii Kealakekua, Hawaii.

Codes: ET, WT, P/E, COMM.

Name: Memorandum. To President/Chancellor Kenneth Mortimer, University Executive Council. From Rodney Sakaguchi. November 24, 1998.
Type: Report
Source: Government body representative.

The memo's main focus is upon the Executive Operating Budget for FB 1999-2001. The Governor did not recommend any additional general-funded increases beyond the current funding levels as requested by the University. The non-general-funded BOR requests are detailed. The Board of Regents recommended a ceiling increase for Community College Non-Credit Program at $750,000.

Codes: LPS

Name: University of Hawaii System Outreach Efforts on the Neighbor Islands. 1993. Legislative Reference Bureau, State of Hawaii.
Type: Report
Source: Government

The document explains the legislative actions in regards to Resolution No. 238, H.D. 1, S.D. 1, adopted in 1993. The resolution requests a discussion of four major issues relating to the outreach needs of the neighbor islands. Item #1 contemplates current program offerings; Item #2 contemplates methods of needs assessments. Item #3 contemplates both potential program offerings and the estimated costs of delivering such potential program offerings. Outreach needs may involve delivery services off-campus, and the scheduling and programming of on-campus services in order to make them available to a broader segment of the population. Methods of outreach include interactive television, cable television, in-person instruction. Descriptions of the outreach programs at the various institutions. The UH system of outreach policy was revised in response to the Board of Regents' 1990 approval and 1991 publication of its master plan entitled A Statewide System and Beyond: A Master Plan for the University of Hawaii. The document was intended to guide the growth of the system in the 1990s. Much of the Master plan was adopted verbatim from the 1990 report entitled Building a Statewide System and Beyond: A Report on a Master Plan for the University of Hawaii Board of Regents. "(Kosaki report)." The methods of assessing the needs are varied. Every 2 to 3 years, a formal survey is conducted. Students, past and present as well as community members participate. The islands of Hawaii, Maui and Kauai all share a common need in three subject areas education, business and public administration, and nursing. Each of the three islands' needs are outlined in detail. As a result of the resolution, three recommendations have been made in the form of questions: 1) do the current outreach programs at the UH system operate adequately under the system of outreach coordination efforts set out under the revised executive policy? 2) does the revised executive policy allow the UH system to meet the outreach goals set out in the master plan? And 3) should outreach efforts continue to be one of the UH system' s seven major goals under the Master Plan?

Codes: LPS, WT, MKT, SI

Fugitive Documents of the 1990s

Name: Biennial Budget and Program Plans FB 1999-2001.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

The goals and mission statement covered in the annual reports are again highlighted. The instructional, scholarship, and service missions of the community colleges are inseparable. The Strategic Plan 1997-2007 is noted. The University of Hawaii Centers are also discussed as means of providing all programs to those desiring them regardless of their location. A brief description of each CC and the Employment Training Center is included. Nested within the overall University Strategic Plan is a strategic plan for the CCs, and its major points follow: provide access with quality; implement differentiated campus missions and function as a system; continue to champion diversity and respect for differences; strengthen and advance the role of the University of Hawaii as a premier resource in Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific affairs; and, acquire and manage resources with accountability. A discussion of the clientele served, benchmarks for program effectiveness, benchmarks for operating efficiency, and emerging issues, trends, and conditions. The common emerging issues and trends facing the CCs are Utilities, support for new facilities, special repairs and maintenance, human resource maintenance, support for economic development, distance education/university centers; and special equipment replacement. The main theme running through the document is lack of funding to maintain quality programs and facilities. It appears that the CCs are at a crucial point in regards to the level of quality they can offer with the minimal state funds they receive. The CCs are moving closer to the market as a result, developing partnerships, altering curricula to meet workforce needs.

Codes: LPS, MKT, C, ET

Name: Board of Regents' Policy Section 4-2 Part d Distance Learning. June 19, 1998.

Type: Policy
Source: Government affiliate

This section of distance learning replaces the former policy on Outreach instruction as amended March 5, 1981. Cross-reference--Administrative Rule for 20-5 for tuition and fees for Outreach non-credit programs and offerings. Distance learning refers to educational programs and activities designed to serve clientele other than regular on-campus students and/or to deliver such courses and programs in ways and/or at times and locations suited to the needs and convenience of those to be served. It includes telecommunications-assisted and/or off-site instruction. It may or may not involve credit hours. The purpose is to extend the University's array of instructional resources to students anywhere in the states who are constrained by factors that do not allow them to attend the college of their choice. Distance learning into the states is the mission, which will strengthen the University's Asian/Pacific focus. Quality and standards must be comparable to other instructional programs of the University. The cost is to be similar to charges or regular on-campus instruction. Non-resident tuition is applied to those outside Hawaii. Non-credit instruction and professional workshops should be fully self-supporting by fees and tuition charged, plus any general fund support for non-credit offerings.

Codes: ET, MKT, C

Name: Minutes of Regular Meeting of the University of Hawaii Board of Regents. October 11, 1996.
Type: Background information
Source: Government affiliate

The $10 million restriction against the university's 1996 budget is now declared permanent. Act 161 explanation: establishes a formula to be used by the Legislature in determining general fund appropriations for each year of the 1997-99 biennium. The formula is based upon FY 1995 general fund appropriations. Act 161 would increase the current services budget by $88,856,115. Additions to current services should be limited to the following: deferred and on-going repairs and maintenance; deferred and on-going equipment replacement; implementation of Strategic Plan goals and objectives other than for repairs and maintenance and equipment replacement; partial restoration of funding for positions vacated under Act 212, the early retirement incentive program. Deferred repairs and maintenance equipment is a process to incur debt to balance the budget. The debt will continue if additional funding for deferred maintenance and equipment replacement is not reduced. Note of early retirement incentive program. 70% of vacated positions can be filled. Infrastructure requirements for distance education are main recipient of resources. Grants received include $146,707 entitled Family Job Loss Impact of the Emotional Health of Plantation Children. The downsizing of the health care industry has impacted hospital admissions, substance abuse, and need for adult mental health services. Other grants are linked to outside sources in partnerships with the university. Much of document deals with restructuring programs to adjust to the changing economy. Budget cuts in many areas mentioned. Collaboration to obtain two of the five cable channels on Oahu as well as 40% of the funding of the two channels. Funds to support the educational channels from the cable companies total apprx. $3.5 million. A variety of non-credit and credit courses available. Details of a trip to China included to develop exchange programs. Focus on Visitor industry. Partnership with resorts also discussed.

Codes: LPS, R, WT, MKT, PA, I

Name: Minutes of Regular Meeting of the University of Hawaii Board of Regents. November 13, 1998.
Type: Background information
Source: Government affiliate

Report on a collaborative effort of the campus radio with the Broadcast Communication Authority (BCA) and private agencies to procure a new transmitter and antenna for the campus station, which will increase power for students at University of Hawaii at Manoa. Idea here is PA. Movement to approve of the Long-Range Development plan for the University of Hawaii Center and West Hawaii dated October 1998. Growth and new facilities requested. Budget request includes additional state funds requirements, which exceed the current funding level established by the Director of Finance. The requests can be grouped into two categories: infrastructure and new or expanded programs. Funds needed to maintain satisfactory level of quality. Discussion of decreasing state funds (drop 9%). Increased tuition is result. Decreasing enrollment also an issue. President Mortimer provided brochure of Manna's business program. An MBA is offered by Manoa for all campuses Manoa is collaborating with Hilo and three centers on Maui, Kauai, and West Hawaii to do so. Students can earn a degree without leaving home, allowing for those students who have full time jobs to advance their careers.

Codes: LPS, MKT

Name: Notice of Meetings of Hawaii Board of Regents Meeting. April 22, 1999.
Type: Background information
Source: Government affiliate

Agenda for Junior Committee on Academic Affairs and Committee on Community Colleges includes discussion of: establishing program status for the Early Childhood Education Program at Hawaii Community College; change in title and program degree credentials for the Data Processing Program at Hawaii CC; establishment of program status for the Television Production Program at Leeward CC; establishment of program status of the Boat Maintenance and Repair Option of the marine Technologies Program at Honolulu CC; Change in program degree credentials for the Communication Arts Program at Honolulu CC; change in program degree credentials for the computing, electronics and networking program, at Honolulu CC.

Codes: WT

Name: Minutes of Regular Meeting of the University of Hawaii Board of Regents. March, 19, 1999.
Type: Background information
Source: Government affiliate

Minutes note that on September 13, 1996 the administration was required to inform the Board annually of the rental rates to be assessed and to conduct public information meetings on every campus at which rates are to be adjusted. As the Board of Regents acts as the state, this can be interpreted as state intervention. Discussion of raising housing rates starting with Fall 1999 through 2002. The increases are needed to maintain the halls in accordance with Board's requirements. Operating costs were reduced by abolishing or not filling positions, charging live-in hall staff one-half of the computed value of their rooms. Without the proposed rate increases, expenditures will exceed revenues starting fiscal year 2002. Professional schools such as the Medical School are exploring other sources of revenues to supplement declining state appropriations. Idea is to decrease dependence upon state. A rise in Nursing school tuition is a signal that the general funds are decreasing. A discussion of legislation included. It was reported that SB 538 gives the university full control over expenditures and accounting of its monies while Act 115 allows the regents considerable flexibility regarding State controls that had hampered their ability to be effective.

Codes: LPS, SI

Name: University of Hawaii Mission (November, 1997). The Board of Regents, and Office of the President.
Type: Report
Source: Government affiliate

This is the university system's mission statement as of 1996-97 academic year. While the primary purpose of providing "an environment in which faculty and students can discover, examine critically, preserve, and transmit the knowledge, wisdom and values that will help ensure the survival of the present and future generations with improvement in the quality of life," market forces lurk within its action plans. Responding to the changing need of Hawaii is an example. The system states its special distinction is due to its unique international community (Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific orientations). There is more focus upon assessment of programs as these respond to the needs of the state, nation, and global community. A description of each college is provided. The University of Hawaii at West Oahu stresses the need for flexible class schedules and life long learning (extension), translating into another link to meeting the needs of the non-traditional student. The CCs emphasis is upon its open access, outreach centers, and a flexible, short term, workforce training center: market oriented and work training focused.

Codes: MKT, WT

Name: Hawaii Revised Statutes, Chapters 304 and 305, p. 493-523 and 1-693-1-706.
Type: Legislation
Source: State government

This document is WT and P/E oriented. Calls for benchmarking to develop UH's presence as a statewide campus, which meets the needs of its citizens and become research and service center. Benchmarks such as expanding access and maintaining diversity noted. Moving towards opportunities for waived tuition for future teachers, Also more vocational classes are to be offered: food and beverage management is example. Purpose of CCs noted to be starting block from which students transfer to university and 2-4 year tech/vocational jobs. State control over operations of university. HOPE special funds mentioned. Want international exchange programs. Funds directed at university's single computer system (VAX system).

Codes: WT/ P/E, ET, SI

Name: Act 161 A Bill for an Act Relating to the University of Hawaii.
Type: Legislation
Source: State government

Benchmark adoption mentioned, and will be used in the development of annual budget requests to legislature and adoption of tuition schedules. Argument over who has control of tuition and fee generated funds. Details about what tuition and fees funds are appropriated. Notes actions of director of finance. Beginning in 95/96 fiscal yr. all income from regular credit tuition and tuition related fee charges against students shall be deposited to the credit of the special fund pursuant to section 304- and each fiscal year from 90/91 to 99/00 at least the first million of tuition collected by the university shall be deposited in state treasury to credit of Hawaii opportunity programs in ed. (HOPE).

Codes: SI

Name: Governor Benjamin J. Cayetano (1996). Restoring Hawaii's economic momentum.
Type: Policy
Source: Governor

As a result of the 5 yr. depression, the government is actively seeking to increase work training opportunities for its citizens. The drop in pineapple and sugar exports has severely hurt Hawaii's economy. Thus the university is engaging in partnerships with the private sector and other mainland schools to ensure graduates have appropriate skills to maintain a increasingly service-oriented market. Five areas are targeted for growth. They are: health, tourism and hospitality, construction, maintenance and repair, business services, and landscape industry.

Codes: WT/ SI, PA

Name Hawaii's Revised Statutes, 1993 Replacement, Titles 15-18, Chapters 261-319 and Act 39.
Type: Legislation
Source: Government

Document indicates that more students want to obtain some sort of higher education. Need to expand CCs and create legislation that will allow CCs to offer college parallel, tech & voc. education in different parts of the state. Notes that the affairs of the UH system are under the general management and control of the Board of Regents consisting of eleven members who shall be appointed and may be removed by the governor. This document, which is referred to in the introduction, clearly establishes a community college system under the University of Hawaii's general umbrella.

Codes: WT, SI

Name: Economic Trends and Outlook. January 6, 1997.
Type: Government report
Source: Government body

Document provides a description of the recovery from the recession. Many lost jobs, as a result of govt. restructuring. Agriculture shows increased numbers but all in all very little change or growth in the economy--which is terribly weak. Anticipate increase in tourism. Real gross state product for 1996 = 0.9%.

Codes: LPS, WT

Appendix C: Research documents and instruments

1.0. Initial information to potential participating institutions

Research Investigation
Mission and Structure: the community college in a global context

I have a research grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada). I plan to investigate the impact, influences, effects of global forces of change on the community college, using 3 Canadian and 3 US colleges. I want to use colleges that have orientations to the international scene (e.g., Canada/US, Canada/Pacific Rim, Canada/Mexico) and colleges that are using high technology information and educational systems. I am interested in determining if and the extent to which colleges have altered to accommodate global forces of change, and to see where the impact has been greatest.

I would very much like to have your college as a site for this investigation. I need to have fairly strong support from your people--administrators, faculty, staff--so that access is not a problem. I am anticipating that there would two site visits 1-2 years apart (e.g., 1997 and 1998), involving approximately 2 researchers (graduate assistants) and me for one of these visits, lasting about 3-5 days each. Also, the investigation will require us to acquire institutional documents and have the help of the registrar's office (for example we will need to look at enrolment figures to see numbers of international students) and the VP Admin/Bursar's office (to collect budget information). We will also conduct interviews with a sample of administrators, faculty, and students.

I am thinking about using one college in [undisclosed city], one in [undisclosed state] a Hawaii College, [undisclosed college] in [undisclosed city], and two colleges in British Columbia: Six colleges along some border or rim or edge. This project should be very exciting--and useful for practitioners of course.

Please discuss this proposal with your institutional colleagues and let me know if your college is willing to participate in this research investigation. I look forward to your reply.

2.0. Letter to chief executive officers of colleges:

President,
June 20, 1996

Dear

Thank you for considering to have your institution participate in the research investigation, "Mission and Structure". I have enclosed a consent form which you need to sign and return to me if you agree to participate. I am in the process of working out a site visitation schedule as well as developing a list of documents that we shall need from you. By late August or early September, I will forward a list to you or your designate. At this time I wanted to select with you a tentative date for the site visit and a contact person at your institution with whom members of my team may communicate and arrange activities during the site visit. This individual should be well respected in the institution and be able to assist us with access throughout the institution. Once you have such a contact person selected, please let me know how to reach this individual.

I would like to propose the following dates for our research team to visit your institution:

City South Community College	3-4 Days within this period: November 25, 26, 27, December 2, 3, 4, 5.

This will entail the following activities:

1. 60 minute interview with you.
2. 60 minute interviews with the senior academic officer, the senior student services officer, and the senior business officer (separate).
3. 30 minute interview with your administrative assistant.
4. 75 minute discussion with a group of mid-level educational administrators (at least five, to include deans/directors in such areas as arts and science, vocational programs, information technology, continuing education, learning resources).
5. 75 minute discussion with full time faculty from representative areas of the college (at least 5 faculty).
6. 60 minute discussion with support staff from representative areas (at least 5 staff).
7. 60 minute discussion with part-time faculty from representative areas of the college (at least 5 faculty).
8. informal discussions/interviews of students, including members of student government
9. informal conversations with faculty in their offices
10. optional 75 minute discussion with a group from your institution who is willing to serve as a committee to help us with data collection and analysis.

As well as the above, team members will be engaged in observation of institutional life through interactions in the cafeteria, through visiting instructional areas, and sitting in on classes if permission is given by instructors. Approximately 4 members of my team will be on site during this investigation.

Please note that we will tape record interviews, but names of those interviewed will be concealed. You should know as well that institutional names will not be used; rather, fictitious names will be used as identifiers. Also, if you have any suggestions to make about additions or deletions or modifications to the above, please do not hesitate to inform me.

Let me also give you information about how to contact me. My electronic mail address is "jlevin@mail.ed.arizona.edu", and I use this frequently. My telephone is (520) 621-1517 (my office). My fax number is (520) 621-1875. My mailing address is Center for the Study of Higher Education, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, USA, 85721. I can be reached through these avenues after August 22. Before August 22, I can be reached between July 3 and August 10 at (604) 723-3390, when I will be in British Columbia. Furthermore, you can talk directly to my research assistant, Angela Fairchilds, at (520) 621-0949 after August 5.

Again, thanks for joining us. I believe this will be a most enlightening investigation. Please, at any stage of this process, if you have questions or concerns contact me so that we can discuss matters. I want to keep this open and positive.

Yours,

John S. Levin
Associate Professor and Director
Community College Institute for Research and Development

3.0. Consent form for participants:

"Mission and Structure"
Research Study
Individual Participant Consent From

I agree to participate in the research investigation, "Mission and Structure". I am aware that I may withdraw from participation at any time.

Name

Signature

Position

Institution

Date

Principal Investigator
John Stewart Levin

1. Participation is voluntary and confidential. Participation may be curtailed at any time.
2. Individuals and institutions will not be identified in any reports of research results.
3. All information gathered during this research investigation, except for that which is generally available to the public, will be secured, when stored, in a locked filing cabinet in a private office at The University of Arizona or in the home of the principal investigator. This material will be retained for a period of five to seven years, after which it will be destroyed.
4. Individual quotations as appropriate will be cited in research results, but generally information will be disclosed in aggregate form.
5. Research results will be provided to all participating institutions. Results will be available to individual participants by request.

This research is sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

4.0. Interview questions, part I

Mission and Structure: Interviews

College: ______________________________

Interviewee (s): Position

____
____
____
____
____
____
____

Date: ______________________
Time: ______________________
Place: ______________________
Length: ______________________
Interviewer(s): ______________________
____

Interviews: The Warm-Up

1. What are some interesting and outstanding characteristics of the campus/institution?

2. How would you characterize the student body?

The faculty?

The administrators?

3. How do you describe your local community or communities? How has it/these changed in the past 5 years?

Interviews: Change questions

3. Do you perceive any major changes occurring in your institution? In what areas?

4. Has there been an increase or a decrease in the following areas? Or no change at all?--(Examples of more?)

4a. More contract services: Yes__No__
Examples:

4b. More international projects Yes__No__
Examples:

4c. More distance education: Yes__No__
Examples:

4d. More information technology: Yes__No__
Examples:

4e. More educational technology: Yes__No__
Examples:

4f. Less involvement in the non-business sector of the community: Yes__No__
4g. Less personal counseling: Yes__No__
4h. Less faculty participation in decision-making: Yes__No__

5. What alterations in programs and programming?
5a. What are some of the distinctive characteristics of the curriculum?

5b. Have there been any major changes in the last few years? What are these? Why were changes made?

6a. Less emphasis upon the liberal arts: Yes__No__
6b. Less emphasis upon interdisciplinary programs: Yes__No__
6c. Less emphasis upon remedial education: Yes__No__
6d. More emphasis upon vocational training: Yes__No__
Examples:

6e. More emphasis upon high technology training: Yes__No__
Examples:

6f. More emphasis upon skill development: Yes__No__
Examples:

7. Change of institutional mission (or aspects of mission), such as new attention to multiculturalism, diversity, to global topics, to accountability?

7a. What is lost in mission? How are these new areas manifested?

7b. How do institutional members feel about these shifts?

7c. More emphasis upon business and industry: Yes__No__

Examples:

7d. More emphasis upon equity and equality issues: Yes__No__
Examples:

7e. More emphasis upon accountability: Yes__No__
Examples:

7f. More emphasis on associations, connections, partnerships with the private sector:
Yes__No__
Examples:

8. Change to institutional structures such as governance and decision-making, to operations, to organizational structures including departments and divisions, the establishment of new units, departments, centers or the elimination or alteration of existing units?

8a. What are some reasons for these changes?

8b. How are they working out?

8c. Decision-making: Is decision-making speeding up or slowing down (or no change)?

8d. Decision-making: Has authority/responsibility for decision-making moved to higher levels of the organization or lower? (last 5 years)

9. How has electronic and information technology changed your work? What kinds of electronic and information technologies are most prevalent? In what ways are they used in the institution? Has there been noticeable changes in their use over the past few years?

10. What kind of community does the institution serve: city, region, province/state, nation?

11. The college's role.
11a. What is the college's role in international education?

11b. Its role in economic development?

11c. Its role in workforce training?

11d. How does the institution respond to calls from governments (state/provincial? federal? local?)?

12. Chief business officer:
Go over annual operating and capital budgets so that we know where the money goes and why (e.g., expenditures on distance education, revenues from international education). Formal agreements the institution has developed with other countries? The influence of the board? Influence of district or central office? Influence of state/provincial government agencies?

13. President:
Describe external pressures, especially pressures from government and business to alter, to respond. The role of the board in initiating change? The role of the district/system office and chancellor in initiating change?

14. Chief academic officer and faculty:
Describe curriculum and instruction—what's changing, how is electronic technology used, what programs are on the rise and what on the decline?

15. Chief student services officer:
Describe student services—what are the goals and what are the actions to meet these goals? What are the most salient issues today? Are these different from the past?

16. Deans:
16a. How would they describe the changing nature of management and managing at their institution? What are the most salient issues today? Different from the past?

16b. What are some tensions that exist between external forces, demands, pressures and the internal culture of the organization?

17. Students :
How they view their education? How they view the institution's responses to their needs, and their career and educational goals?

18. Support staff:
18a. Describe changes over time in their work—type, nature, speed?

18b. What is their involvement in institutional life and decision-making?

18c. What is their sense of the institution, its direction?

18d. What is their judgement of the college as a workplace? Why?

Interviews: General comments

Solicit views on the ways organizational members interpret the external environment and how they believe the institution is responding to external pressures. Where do changes originate/ (e.g., for curriculum changes which internationalize the curriculum?)

5.0. Interview question, Part II

Mission and Structure: Interviews II

College:
Interviewee (s) and Position:
Date:
Time:
Length of interview:
Place:
Comments:

1. Change to institutional structures?
- Governance?
- Departments/Divisions/Units: Restructuring?
- Curriculum and program development?
- Delivery of curriculum?
- Management?

What are some reasons for these changes?

2. Change of institutional mission ?

- Closer to marketplace?
- More entrepreneurial, less reliant on public funding?
- Intrusion of government?
- Workforce training?

3. What is lost in mission? How are these new areas manifested?

4. Ways organizational members interpret the external environment?
- major forces acting upon college?
- institutional responses to these forces?

MISSION AND STRUCTURE

Institution:____

STUDENTS (A)

I. ENROLLMENTS

Headcount	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Male				
Female				

Full Time Equivalency	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Male				
Female				

Part Time/Full Time	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Part Time				
Full Time				

Ethnicity	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Anglo/White				
Afro-American/Black				
Asian				
East Indian				
Hispanic				
Native Indian				
South Pacific				
Other				

Institution:____

STUDENTS (B)

II. PROGRAM ENROLLMENTS (Full Time Equivalency)

	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Total Enrollments				
University (parallel/transfer Arts, Sciences)				
College Preparatory (Adult Basic Education, ESL)				
Occupational (2 yr, or 4 semesters or more)				
Vocational (less than 2 yr/4 semesters)				
Other (specify):				

Institution:____

STUDENTS (C)

III. INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Headcount	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Male				
Female				

Full Time Equivalency	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Male				
Female				

Part Time/Full Time	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Part Time				
Full Time				

Ethnicity	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
Anglo/White				
Afro-American/Black				
Asian				
East Indian				
Hispanic				
Native Indian				
South Pacific				
Other				

Country of Origin (headcount, top 5)	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

Institution:____

STUDENTS (D)

IV. PROGRAM ENROLLMENTS

List top 5 specific programs with the greatest Full Time Equivalency enrollments (e.g. Business, ESL, Sciences)	Fall 1996	Fall 1995	Fall 1994	Fall 1989
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

Institution:____

EMPLOYMENT OF PROGRAM GRADUATES

PROGRAM	GRADUATES (#S)				EMPLOYED IN FIELD			
Vocational (6 months or more, but less than 2 years)	1989	1993	1994	1995	89/90	93/94	94/95	95/96
Airmechanics								
Automechanics								
Business Service-Related								
Construction								
Electrical								
Food Preparation								
Food Processing								
Health-Related								
Hospitality/Tourism								
Human Service-Related								
Machine Repair								
Office Administration								
Real Estate								
Welding								
Other:								

EMPLOYMENT OF PROGRAM GRADUATES

Institution:____

PROGRAM	GRADUATES (#'S)				EMPLOYED IN FIELD			
Career/Occupational	1989	1993	1994	1995	89/90	93/94	94/95	95/96
Agriculture Related								
Business Mgt & Admin								
Computer /Info. Science								
Education (ECE)								
Engineering Related Technologies								
Fashion Design								
Forestry Related								
Health Professions								
Interior Design								
Marketing								
Mechanics/Repairers								
Protective Services (e.g. law enforcement)								
Social Services								
Visual & Performing Arts								
Other:								

7.0. Institutional document analysis

SSHRC: "Mission and Structure"
Analysis of Institutional Documents (revised January 1998)

This analysis should address trends over time (highlight in document) and then code (see attached). It should note themes relevant to globalization--productivity, competitiveness, workforce training, connections to the private sector, partnerships, restructuring, decreasing reliance upon the public sector, the increasing use of electronic technology, both for information and education, internationalization, efficiency, etc.

The analysis will address current organizational behaviors and conditions as well as trends over time. Institutional documents were requested (e.g., catalogues, calendars, collective agreements, annual reports) and others were collected on site. Also, specific forms were sent to institutions to complete: these include program enrolments, graduate placements, international student numbers. Data relevant to our questions should be extracted and analysed (by coding). Analysis should be for each institution and for each document over time (e.g., college catalogue, 1989/90, 93/94, 1994/95, 1995/96). Both quantitative measures and qualitative evidence are required. For example, increasing or decreasing enrolments in programs close to the marketplace (e.g., aircraft maintenance, microcomputer, business administration) over time can be measured quantitatively. These same programs can be examined to see how they are described and the curriculum features of the programs (e.g., whether they are programs requiring considerable academic preparation, such as high school physics, or requiring sophisticated coursework, such as calculus and mechanics).

Institutional documents are located in CCInstitute office in filing cabinets. Information is confidential. There are both published documents--some formal institutional documents and some informal--and documents which are really institutional questionnaires completed by institutions for this study. This later set of documents--questionnaires--will require a different analytical approach, one dealing with changes over time, but not coding.

Document Analysis: coding of institutional document data

- DOC = full name of document, including all bibliographical references (author[s], date), and page references where applicable.

Codes

productivity and efficiency	P/E	competitiveness	C
workforce training	WT	connections to the private sector	PR
partnerships	PA	restructuring	R
decreasing reliance public sector	LPS		
the increasing use of electronic technology			ET
internationalization	I		
other	O		

College:

DOC	P/E	C	WT	PR	PA	R	LPS	ET	I	O

8.0. Government document analysis

Analysis of Documents (revised April 8, 1998)

This analysis addresses yearly patterns and trends over time (highlight in document) and then code (see attached). Our principal years are 1989/90, 92/93, 93/94, 1994/95, 1995/96, 96/97, but more recent sources can also be used. The analysis should note themes relevant to globalization--productivity, competitiveness, workforce training, connections to the private sector, partnerships, restructuring, decreasing reliance upon the public sector, the increasing use of electronic technology, both for information and education, internationalization, efficiency, etc.

The analysis should identify quantitative measures as well as qualitative evidence. Identify proposed policies, actual policies and implemented initiatives. Identify legislation in each jurisdiction which might have a bearing upon our topics.

A separate analysis for each state and province: California, Hawaii, Washington, Alberta, and British Columbia (provincial/state). A separate analysis for each country (federal): U. S. and Canada.

Document Analysis: coding of document data

The first task is to review and code the document data. This can be accomplished by reading the documents and highlighting all potentially relevant language, using the appropriate coding abbreviation. Then select those highlighted passages for coding and make reference to these in the table (an example table is presented below).

Codes

productivity and efficiency	P/E
competitiveness	C
workforce training	WT
connections to the private sector	PR
partnerships	PA
restructuring	R
decreasing reliance public sector	LPS
the increasing use of electronic technology	ET
labor alteration	LA
intervention of the state	SI
internationalization	I
partnerships	P
marketplace	MRK
other	O

Coding of documents:
A. Government documents--States and Provinces (separate for each one)
[CA, HA, WA, AL, & BC]
B. Government documents--Countries: U.S. & Canada (separate for each)

Doc= full name of document, including all bibliographical references (author[s], date of publication, place of publication, publisher)

Doc	p/e	c	wt	pr	pa	r	lps	et	i	si	la	mrk	p	o

Appendix D: Research Team

Members of the Research Team

Eric Damer, Professor John Dennison, Paul de Silva, Pam de Silva, Anning Ding, Linda Erasmus, Angie Fairchilds, Sandy Garber, John Harris, Mary Beth Ginter, Mary Leinhos, Professor John Levin, Sherry Mallory, Margaret Manthei, Ken Meier, Ed Morgan, Maxine Mott, Angela Palmer, Anthony Restar, Professor Gary Rhoades, Cristie Roe, John Smith, and Kristina Wagner

Appendix E: Project outcomes

Publications

Levin, J. S. (forthcoming). Missions and Structures: Bringing Clarity to Perceptions about Globalization and Higher Education in Canada. Higher Education.

Levin, J. S. (forthcoming). Globalization, state government and the community college. In Townsend, B. & Twombly, S., eds., Educational policy in the 21st century, volume 2--Community colleges: Policy in the future context. Stamford, CT: Ablex Publishing Corporation. (Book chapter)

Levin, J. S. (1998). Making Sense of Organizational Change. In J. S. Levin (ed.), A Ripple or a Sea Change? Organizational Change in the Community College, pp. 43-54. New Directions for Community Colleges. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Scholarly Presentations

Levin, J. S. (1999). Public policy, community colleges, and the path to globalization. Paper for biennial meeting of the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States, Pittsburgh, November.

Levin, J. S. (1999). Responding to global forces: Managing colleges. Paper for the annual meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Higher Education, Sherbrooke, Québec, 1999.

Levin, J. S. (1999). Conducting Field Research in Community Colleges. Higher Education Group, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto, April (invited).

Levin, J. S. (1999). Globalization and Student Services, Center for the Study of Higher Education, The University of Arizona, Arizona International Symposium on Student Affairs, April (invited).

Levin, J. S. (1998). The buffered or buffeted institution: Globalization and the community college. Paper for the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Miami, November 1998.

Levin, J. S. (1998). Globalization and the community college: Alterations to mission and structures. Paper for the American Education Research Association annual meeting, San Diego, April 1998.

Levin, J S. (1998). Making sense of organizational change in community colleges. Presentation for the annual meeting of the Council of Universities and Colleges, Miami, April.

Proposals

Levin, J. S. Public policy, community colleges, and the path to globalization. Proposal for the 1999 bi-annual meeting of The Association for Canadian Studies in the U.S. (accepted).

Levin, J. S. The revised institution: the community college mission at the end of the 20th century. Paper for the American Education Research Association annual meeting, New Orleans, April 2000.

Levin, J. S., Fairchilds, A., Harris, J., Meier, K., & Wagner, K. Policy, theory, and practice: The community college moving into the millennium. Symposium for American Education Research Association (AERA) annual conference, New Orleans, April 2000.

Levin, J. S. Conducting Field Research in Community Colleges. Paper for the American Education Research Association annual meeting, New Orleans, April 2000.

Work-in-progress

Levin, J. S. Instruments of the global marketplace: Alterations to mission and structures in the community college (paper in progress).

Levin, J. S. Reflection & reproduction: The globalized institution (book in progress).

Appendix F: Recommendations

As an investigative report on the behaviors and actions of seven institutions, this document has endeavored to inform and provide guidance. While the report examines and discusses organizational change and the contributors to change, normative rhetoric was largely avoided in the discussion. In this section, I propose several recommendations directed at practitioners, including institutional members, governing board members, and agency officials, such as those in government and union offices.

Four broad categories are used for the presentation of recommendations in this report: (1) education, (2) work, (3) organization, management, and governance, and (4) economics. Education includes institutional research, curriculum, and instructional delivery. Work includes institutional productivity, electronic technologies, esteem, institutional relationships, and professionalism. Organization, management, and governance are treated as three distinct topics. Finally, economics is treated as a single topic.

Education

Institutional research. Capacities and outputs of institutional research require upgrading so that colleges can inform both themselves and their stakeholders of institutional characteristics and outcomes of organizational actions. The systematic collection, organization, and display of institutional data are necessary both for accountability and for improvement and monitoring of progress. Knowledge of institutional practices is not possible without valid data. Program and course enrollments and student performance within these, for example, would provide institutional members with a basic understanding of student behaviors.

Curriculum. The practice of emphasizing marketplace values is neither appropriate nor necessarily beneficial to colleges. Stressing "employability skills" both in rhetoric and in instructional practice should cease, as this use both narrows the educational function of the institution and undermines the professional role of faculty. At the same time, the institutional focus upon personal, social and cognitive development must be strengthened so that "college" means higher level education, encompassing social, intellectual, and moral development.

Instructional delivery. Greater attention to personal contact with students through advising and mentoring, and in face-to-face communication in class, is required. The historical character of the community college and considerable associated success for the institution are derived from small classes, personal attention, and instructional orientation to student needs. With larger classes, with more student per instructor, and with emphasis upon efficiency, both the character of the community college and its achievements are in jeopardy. The rhetoric of "learning centered" education or a shift to a "learning paradigm" is not borne out as constituting a meaningful or valid connotation for improved learning. Such rhetoric demeans the work of faculty who consider themselves to be teachers, not, for example, "facilitators of learning".

There should be less emphasis upon electronic communication and electronic technologies such as computers and the internet. While these have a useful role, they need to be assessed for their effect and long-term outcomes. Much of the use of new technologies for delivery seems to be motivated more by economics and external demands than by pedagogy. Colleges can take a leadership role in classroom-based research and examine the effects of new technologies upon student learning. With the rapid growth in distance education, colleges must monitor their own practices and investigate outcomes, including student learning and instructor workload.

Work

Institutional productivity. The institutional and personal ramifications of the push for greater productivity in the colleges studied were severe. Workloads of all employees seemed excessive. Managers worked long hours, yet outcomes were unclear, and personal satisfaction seemed diminished. Faculty lost their enthusiasm for their jobs as educational goals were replaced by corporate goals. Institutional actions need to be tied to qualitative not quantitative measures. Productivity tied to efficiency undermines education, flying in the face of such goals as mastery learning and higher order thinking through intensive study.

Electronic technologies. The use and overuse of electronic technologies for communication was evident in the extreme at these institutions. Voice mail and email in particular structured much of institutional behaviors. The consequences of the use of these technologies was unexamined by organizational members at these institutions. Evidence from this investigation suggests that these technologies increased workloads, sped up work, and altered relationships. The recommendation of this report is that electronic communication technologies should assist work not drive work, and thus there is a need to curtail their use or guard against over use.

Esteem. The values and rewards of institutional work need to be identified, and if not celebrated then at least acknowledged. Work at these institutions, with several exceptions, became closer to assembly-line production, in some cases, and corporate-style stragegizing and imitations of business conceptions of excellence (see Peters and Waterman, In Search of Excellence) in others. This orientation had no positive effects upon faculty or support staff and no evident connection to students as learners. Employees--faculty, support staff, and managers--require more that imitative rhetoric to achieve self-esteem.

Institutional relationships. The accentuated gap between labor and management needs to be addressed and closed. There is little respect among many faculty and staff groups for managers. And, among some managers there is evidence of little regard for faculty work. The parties--labor and management--occupy separate spheres. Managers are oriented toward efficiency and productivity, and their goals are not the same as faculty. These strained relationships are partly the result of perceived scarce resources and job insecurity. But they are also a consequence of the trend toward corporate-style management, the demands for productivity, and the growing separation between labor and management in their goals.

Professionalism. There was a movement at these colleges towards the de-professionalization of faculty, with the exception of East Shoreline College and Rural Valley College. Measures to ensure a professional role for faculty are required. These might include the re-establishment of a defunct departmental structure at one institution, the legitimate and authoritative role of faculty in decision-making at several institutions, and less managerial directing of faculty work at most institutions. Of related concern is the use and over-use of part-time and adjunct faculty, especially at those institutions where the ratio of part-time faculty has remained high or increased over the decade. Not only does this practice contribute to the de-professionalization of faculty but also the work-load of the full-time faculty increases as they are required to pick up greater workloads and more responsibilities in such areas as committee work and curriculum review and revision. Managers too are affected because of the increases in responsibility, such as oversight and evaluation. Union-management collective agreements need to address and resolve these problems.

Organization, management, and governance

Organization. Colleges should examine their structures to ensure that these are coherent and meaningful not simply efficient. Organizational units need to be connected, not arbitrarily but because they have similar purposes and compatible operations. The proliferation of units and institutional activities in the 1990s led to a loss of centering of the institution--its core functions and purpose were uncertain. Units which grew largely in response to external requirements, such as contract training units, were detached from other parts of the institution. Separate or counter colleges within institutions need to be integrated with the larger institutions, both structurally and in operations.

Management. Colleges need to be less corporate, less managerial, and less like businesses. These institutions are human service and educational organizations, not industrial complexes. A more prominent role for professionals at most of these institutions and more emphasis upon quality and less to growth would support a professional environment. Henry Mintzberg's concept of a professional bureaucracy is more apt for colleges than popular business conceptions of an organization such as Peter Senge's learning organization.

Governance. Managers and faculty both have professional identities. While they may have different job interests, many share professional values. Institutional governance needs to reflect the professional makeup of organizational members. Government legislation needs to recognize the professional nature of colleges and ensure that faculty become, if they are not already, central actors, along with managers and governing board members, in institutional decisions.

Economics

Colleges in this investigation drifted toward economic interests in the 1990s and shifted away from their collegiate role. The economic orientation of colleges is largely due to the reluctance of governments to fund these institutions relative to their anticipated expenditures. It is not that colleges in the 1990s became excessive in those expenditures; rather growth as well as rising costs drove budgets to expand. As a consequence of government underfunding, colleges turned to resource acquisition as a principal institutional activity. This consuming behavior led to the alteration of college structures and indeed to college missions. Institutions developed "shadow" or "entrepreneurial" colleges within a larger college. Organizational members and students were affected by the pervasive focus upon productivity and efficiency. Institutions used public money to serve private interests, particularly in offering education and training to meet the needs of specific employers and in using existing structures to provide services to private individuals for profit.

Governments should fund colleges so as to maintain these institutions as public institutions. Furthermore, funding tied to enrolments--a generally standard practice--is at best a quantifiable approach to productivity but it does not serve these institutions well; nor does it assist in the fulfillment of government policy with regard to the education and training of knowledge workers. Government funding behaviors should permit colleges to fulfill their missions and to have sufficient time to plan for operations. Governments' role is to serve the public interest, and in curtailing fiscal allocations to colleges they have driven colleges more and more to serve private interests, either business and industry or fee payers. The mission of colleges to serve the underserved will not survive long in the 21st century without a return to adequate levels of government spending upon higher education.